DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM
IN
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PREFACE

In October, 1955 the well-known historian Prof. R. P. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor of the Saugor University and President of the Hindi Advisory Committee of the Government of Uttar Pradesh sponsored the scheme of producing a work on the "Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh" and entrusted to me and my esteemed friend Shri K. D. Bajpai the responsibility of writing the same. The work was divided between us : Chapters II and XV-XVIII being written by Shri Bajpai and the rest by me. The time allotted to us was rather short and it was possible for us to keep to the time-schedule mainly due to the keen and lively interest taken by Shri Bhagavati Saran Singh, Director of Information of the U. P. Government and Secretary to the Hindi Advisory Committee. Much credit is due to the Bhargava Bhushan Press of Vārāṇasī for giving within an unusually short time a neat shape to our scribblings.

The object of the present work is to trace the growth and development of Buddhism in the area covered by the present Uttar Pradesh. It is a fact, though not very widely known, that out of the four places of pilgrimage recommended by the great Teacher himself in his last days, two, Banaras and Kasia, are located within Uttar Pradesh, and the third Kapilavastu lies a few miles outside the north-eastern border of the State. In ancient days, however, this place was included in Kosala as is evident from the claim put forth by King Pasenadi that "Bhagavā pi Kosalako

aham pi kosalako." Besides these three places of great importance in the history of Buddhism, there were a few others like Sahet Mahet where the Teacher passed as many as twentyfive rainy season retreats. Hence Uttar Pradesh can well be regarded not only as the cradle but also as the home of maturity of early Buddhism. The cream of the Buddhist teachings is to be found in the first two discourses delivered at Sarnath and in the last discourses delivered at Kasia, and so as far as the teaching is concerned, Uttar Pradesh can well claim to be its *Sanctum sanctorum*.

Buddhism had a long history in India. It moulded the Indian thoughts for nearly 1,500 years and made a large contribution to our literature in Pali and Sanskrit. It dotted almost the whole of India from Kashmir to Waltair and Bombay with remarkable Cave-temples, Stūpas and Monasteries replete with paintings and sculptures. An encyclopaedic work can only do justice to the various aspects of this religious and cultural movement. It is therefore desirable that sectional histories of this all-India movement should first be written as preparatory to the production of an Encyclopaedia. From this point of view the present work confined to the growth and development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh has a value of its own, and will, we hope, enthuse other scholars to take up local histories of other States where Buddhism prevailed for centuries.

We shall feel our labours amply recompensed if the present work is able to draw the attention of the inhabitants of Uttar Pradesh to the great importance of their State,

which nurtured the movement that spread its influence over the religion and culture of more than half of Asia.

Lastly, thanks are due to my students Shrimati Sudha Sen Gupta, M.A. and Shri Sukumar Sen Gupta, M.A. for compiling the Index in a short time.

39, Ramananda Chatterji Street,
Calcutta.
6th June, 1956.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

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CHAPTER I

ANCIENT COUNTRIES IN UTTAR PRADESH

WHILE Magadha (mod. Bihar) was the birth place of Buddhism, Kośala (= Oudh) was the scene of its adolescence, growth and maturity. The present state of Uttar Pradesh extends longitudinally from 77° 3′ (Muzaffarnagar) to 84° 39′ (Ballia) and latitudinally from 31° 18′ (Tehri Garhwal) to 23° 52′ (Mirzapur). It is bounded on the north by Nepal and Himachal Pradesh, on the east by the state of Bihar, on the west by the states of the Punjab and Rajasthan and on the south and south-west by the states of Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh, the total area being a little over a lac of square miles. Of the ancient kingdoms therefore it includes Kośala, Kāśī, Vatsa, Pañcāla and Śūrasena as also the republican territories Śākyas, Koliyas, Mallas and Bhaggas. Though Kapilavatthu, the birth place of the Prince Siddhārtha Gautama is now situated a few miles beyond the border of Uttar Pradesh, has been taken into account in this work, as, in the sixth century B.C., it was included in the domain of King Pasenadi. Uttar Pradesh of the present day covers three of the nine states[1] of the time of king Janaka of the Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad-period, and six of the sixteen (Mahājanapadas)[2] of Buddha's time.

[1] The nine are Gandhāra, Kekaya, Madra, Uśīnara, Matsya, Kuru, Pañcāla, Kāśī and Kośala.

[2] The sixteen mahājanapadas are Kāśī, Kośala, Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Cedi, Vamśa, Kuru-Pañcāla, Matsya, Śūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja.

KĀŚĪ-KOŚALA

KĀŚĪ : The earliest mention of the people of Kāśī is found in the Atharvaveda. In the *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra* (xvi. 295) Kāśis are mentioned along with the Videhas and Kośalas, of which three states Jātukarṇya was the *purohita*. He was a contemporary of King Janaka and of the famous Upaniṣadic teacher Śvetaketu. In the Upaniṣads,[1] philosopher Ajātaśatru is described as the king of Kāśī and a contemporary of king Janaka. Several Jātakas in Pali open with the words "Atīte Bārānasiyaṃ Brahmadatte rajjaṃ kārente" suggesting that the rulers of Kāśī bore the title "Brahmadatta," which appears also in the *Purāṇas* (Matsya and Vāyu) and the Mahābhārata (II. 8. 23). The Jātakas do not furnish us with any clue to the ancient family or families, to whicht he Brahmadattas belonged. There are a few Jātakas in which Brahmadattas are described as of Videhan origin. In the *Mahāgovindasutta*[2] the king of Kāśī is called Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Dhatararaṭṭha), a prince of Bharata lineage, which finds corroboration in the *Purāṇas*[3] also. In the *Brāhmaṇas*[4] is mentioned a king of Kāśī called Dhṛtarāṣṭra, whose sacrificial horse was captured by one Śatānika Satrajit,[5] a prince of the Bharata lineage, and for which reason, the sacrificial fire was not kindled in Kāśī

[1] *Chāndogya,* v. 11

[2] *Dīgha,* II, p. 235 ; *Mahāvastu,* III, p. 197 f.

[3] H. C. Rai Chowdhury, *Political History of Ancient India,* (henceforth abbreviated as PHAI.) 6th ed., p. 75.

[4] *Śatapatha,* xiii, 5. 4. 19-23.

[5] Satrajit may mean one who successfully performed Satras or Yajñas.

up to the days of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[1] From the *Mahāvagga*[2] and the *Jātakas* particularly, and the story of Dighīti and his son Dighāvu, it is evident that in pre-Buddha days the ruler of Kāśī was very powerful and did for some time subjugate the Kośalas, and other neighbouring territories. Kāśī was one day so rich and powerful that it roused the envy of all the neighbouring rulers. In the time of Buddha however it lost its charm and glory and became a subordinate state of the Kośalans and was actually ruled by the Kośalan emperor through a viceroy.

The common tradition in the Buddhist texts is that Mahākośala, father of King Pasenadi, gave a village of Kāśī (Kāsigāma) as bath-money to his daughter, Kosala-devī, at the time of her marriage with king Bimbisāra. After the death of Bimbisāra, it became the bone of contention between Ajātasattu and Pasenadi, leading to a fight between them. On one occasion Pasenadi defeated Ajātasattu and on another, Ajātasattu defeated Pasenadi[3]. The dispute was however ultimately settled by Pasenadi's offering the hands of his daughter Vajirā in marriage to Ajātasattu and giving the same piece of the territory to his daughter as her pin-money.[4] Kāśī, it seems, retained its separate identity, as it is found that Pasenadi is usually designated as the King of Kośala, and not of Kāśī-Kośala, though the two countries are often cited together. In

[1] *PHAI.*, pp. 44, 75, 97.
[2] *Vinaya*, I, 10. 2. 3.
[3] *Saṃyutta*, I, pp. 82-84.
[4] *Saṃutta*, I, 82 f ; *Db. A.* iii, p. 259; *Jātaka*, ii, 403; iv, 342.

the Mahāvagga (p. 281) there is a reference to one Kāsikarājā, who was probably a chieftain under the suzerainty of the Kosalan king[1].

Banaras was the capital of Kāśī. It must have been an important centre of trade as it was the home of a few bankers (seṭṭhis), to one of which belonged Yaśa, the sixth convert of Buddha. Isipatana (= Ṛṣi-pattana), near Banaras, was undoubtedly, as the name implies, a favourite resort of ascetics. It is also supported by the fact that the five ascetic companions of Buddha, the first batch of his converts, selected the place as their residence. There was near Banaras a mango grove called Khemiyambavana where the Buddhist monks stopped occasionally. Besides Isipatana and Khemiyambavana, there were two other resorts of the Buddhist monks, viz., Kiṭāgiri and Macchikāsaṇḍa. These two villages or townships were on the main road from Banaras to Sāvatthī and it is stated in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*[2] that Macchikāsaṇḍa was 30 yojanas (i.e., 90 miles) distant from Sāvatthī while Kiṭāgiri was a village where resided Assaji and Punabbasu who did not observe the Vinaya rules properly. Buddha on many occasions had to correct them and lay down rules for their proper conduct. There was another village called Vāsabhagāma where dwelt many monks.

[1] Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has attached some importance to the statement in the Samyutta Nikāya (I. p. 79) in which Pasenadi has been described as chief (*Pamukham*) of five kings. The figure "pañca", it seems, has been used to keep consonance with the five sense-organs which was the topic under discussion and should not be treated as an evidence for Pasenadi being the chief of five kings.

[2] *Dh. A.*, ii. p. 79.

KOŚALA : The earliest reference to Kosala is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] in which the name of the king is given as Hairaṇyanābhaḥ Kauśalyaḥ who is also mentioned in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*[2] as a contemporary of Kauśalya Āśvalāyana. In the *Majjhima Nikāya*[3] Assalāyana appears as a noted Brāhmaṇa teacher of Sāvatthī, and a direct disciple of Buddha. The name in the *Upaniṣad* and the *Nikāya* may be identical but it is not possible to state on the basis of this identity of names that the two texts refer to the same person. In the pre-Buddhist or pre-Epic days, Kośala did not rise into prominence, for it acknowledged from time to time the suzerainty of Kāśī. In the Dīghīti story[4] Kośala is described as a poor country with little wealth and articles of enjoyment and its army was limited and its treasury was never full. It attained some importance in the Epic age. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] Kośala had its capital at Ayodhyā covering 12 *yojanas,* on the banks of the river Sarayū. In this territory ruled the Ikṣvākus, of whom the historical figures were Prasenajit and Śuddhodana. Hiraṇyanābha is described as a Kauśalarāja as mentioned above but it is not known if he belonged to the Ikṣvāku lineage. The names of Ikṣvāku kings abound in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Epics,* e.g., of Hariścandra and his son Rohita, Bhagīratha, Ambariṣa, Ṛtuparṇa and of king Daśaratha

[1] *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 4.

[2] *Praśna Upa.*, I. 1.

[3] *Majjhima*, II, p. 147 f.

[4] *Vinaya* I. X. 2. 3. Dīghīti nāma Kosalarājā ahosi daliddo appabhogo appavāhano aparipuṇṇa-kośa-koṭṭhāgāra.

[5] *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 55. 7 ; II. 18. 38.

and his son Rāma. The Śākya tribe also claimed their descent from the Ikṣvākus.[1]

The area of Kośala in Buddha's time corresponded to mod. Oudh, with the river Gaṇḍak as its eastern and the river Gumti its western boundaries. The Sai river, which was probably known in ancient days as Syandikā or Sundarikā marked its southern limit, while its north touched the hilly reigions bordering on Nepal. In 5th century B.C. Ayodhyā lost its importance and was replaced by Śrāvastī (Sāvatthī) as the great capital and metropolis. The city next in importance to Sāvatthī was Sāketa. There was a number of towns and villages, which the Buddhist monks frequented such as Setavyā, Ālavi, Icchānaṅgala, Ukkaṭṭha, Ekasālā, Opasāda, Kesaputta, Caṇḍālakappa, Toraṇavatthu, Daṇḍakappa, Nagaravinda, Manasākaṭa, Nālakāpana, Paṅkadhā, Venāgapura, Veludvāra, Sāla, Sālavatikā, Ātumā, Ālavi (Aggālavacetiya), Ujuññā, Kaṭṭhavāhananagara, Bhusāgāra, Paṇḍupura, Sādhukā. It is not possible however to identify all these places.

Sāvatthī (*Śrāvastī*) has been identified by Cunningham with Sahet Mahet on the banks of the Rāptī, near the border of Goṇḍā and Bahraich districts. Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang visited this site which was in ruins at the time of their visit. Buddha had passed twenty five *varṣās* (retreats during rainy season) in this city alone and delivered several discourses.

There were three famous monasteries at Sāvatthī, viz., Jetavana, Pubbārāma and Rājakārāma. Of these

[1] *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 98.

three, Jetavana was the most commodius and magnificent. The site of Jetavana was selected by Sāriputta, who was deputed by Buddha to give the necessary directions for the construction of a monastery suitable for the Buddhist monks. The site was a part of the royal park of Prince Jeta, who was unwilling to sell the plot and so he demanded an unreasonable price, offering the challenge that he could sell as much land as the buyer could cover by Kahāpaṇas (coins). Anāthapiṇḍika of untold wealth accepted the challenge and made the prince part with the land by bringing cart-load of coins from his treasury and covering as much ground as was required for the monastery. On learning that the land was meant for building a monastery for the residence of the great Saint, Prince Jeta made the stipulation that he would accept only price for the land but not for the trees grown on the same. He wanted to make a gift of these trees to the Bhikṣu-Saṅgha out of his great regard for the Teacher as also to earn thereby some merit.

The Jetavana monastery must have been a huge structure containing, as it did, dwelling rooms, cells, gate-chambers, service-halls, halls with fire-places,storehouses, closets, cloisters, halls for meditation while walking, wells, sheds for wells, bathing places, bath-rooms, tanks and pavilions.[1] Its gateway was erected by Prince Jeta. After the huge structure was completed, Anāthapiṇḍika with due pomp and ceremony offered the monastery to the Teacher by

[1] *Cullavagga*, vi. 4. 10; *Mahāvagga*, iii, 5. 6: Vihāra, Pariveṇa, Koṭṭhaka, etc. The Tibetan sources state that there were sixty large halls and sixty small chambers (Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 48). see Infra, p. 321.

pouring water from a water pitcher. Some of the buildings were given special names as Mahāgandhakūṭi, Karerimaṇḍalamālā, Kosambakūṭī, Candanamālā,[1] Salalaghara.[2] There was a big tank in the grove, and the whole place had the appearance of a forest. It was in Jetavana that stūpas were erected over Sāriputta and Moggallāna's relics which were later exhumed by the Emperor Aśoka.

The monastery next in magnificence to Jetavana was Pubbārāma or Migāramātupāsāda built by Viśākhā, who was no less rich than Anāthapiṇḍika, in a park outside the eastern gate of Sāvatthī. The story of its construction is as follows : One day Viśākhā went to Jetavana to listen to Buddha's discourses and left in the preaching hall by mistake her jewelled necklace, which she used to take off when approaching the Teacher. Ānanda found it and kept it aside in a safe place. When this was brought to the notice of Viśākhā she decided to sell it and build a monastery out of the sale proceeds. As there was no buyer for it she purchased it herself with a few crores and utilised the money to build the Pubbārāma. It is said that this monastery was two-storied with a large number of rooms. It was so ornamental in architecture that the monks were in doubt whether they could reside there in conformity with the rules prescribed by Buddha regarding the construction of a hermitage[3]. It was built under the supervision of Moggallāna, who was deputed by Buddha for the purpose.

[1] *SNA*, ii. 403.

[2] Said to have been constructed at the instance of King Pasenadi.

[3] *Vinaya*, II, p. 169.

The third monastery in Sāvatthī was Rājakārāma built by king Pasenadi at a place near Jetavana. It is said that the site was at first selected for the erection of a resting place for the non-Buddhist teachers and their followers, whose presence near the Jetavana monastery however was disapproved by Buddha. The king it is said was at first unwilling to comply with Buddha's wishes but he was ultimately prevailed upon to alter the site at Buddha's personal intervention. The king then decided to utilise the site for the building of a monastery for the residence of the Buddhist nuns, one of whom was Sumanā, sister of Pasenadi.[1]

There was one rest house called Mallikārāma, which was very probably built at the instance of Mallikā, chief queen of Pasenadi. This ārāma became the rendezvous of wanderers (*paribbājakā*) and was occasionally visited by Buddha and his disciples. It is described as "*Samayappavādaka-tinḍukācira-ekasālaka*" or the single hall, fenced by Tinḍuka trees and was meant for mutual discussions of different doctrinal teachers.

Sāketa was the next great city of Kośala. This place grew up into importance on account of the residence of the father of Viśākhā, Banker Dhanañjaya, who originally belonged to Magadha, came and settled there at the request of King Pasenadi. It was seven *yojanas* from Sāvatthī. There was in it a deer park called Añjanavana, which was the hunting ground of king Pasenadi.

[1] *Therīgāthā* Cog., p. 22; *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 97 ; *Aṅguttara*, III, p. 32.

Cunningham[1] surmised that Sāketa was identical with Ayodhyā, but as the two cities are mentioned in the *Nikāyas* there must have been two different places. Sāketa has been identified with the ruins of Sujānkot on the Sai river in the Unao district. Here lived also a few non-Buddhists. It was here Therī Sujātā became an *arhat* after listening to a discourse of Buddha.[2] A few monks including Gavampati lived here. Midway between Sāketa and Sāvatthī was Toraṇavatthu, where king Pasenadi met Khemā therī.

Ayojjhā (= Ayodhyā) : This town was situated on the bank of the Ganges. Buddha visited the place and delivered two discourses[3], one of which on the log of wood appears also in the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*[4], in which Ayodhyā is located on the Ganges and was reached by Buddha while he was wandering in Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. It is doubtful if this town was identical with Ayodhyā of the Epics, in which it is described as a big city with wide roads and ample crops. It contained large buildings and was the old capital of Kośala. In the Pāli texts Ayojjhā has been described as the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kośala.

Sankassa was situated thirty yojanas from Sāvatthī. It is identified by some with Saṅkiśa, a village in the Farrukhabad district, and by others with Saṅkissa Basantapura on the north bank of the Kālinadī, 23 miles west of Fatehgarh and 45 miles north of Kanauj. In Buddhist

[1] *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 405.
[2] *Therī-gāthā*, 145-150.
[3] *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 140 ; IV, p. 179.
[4] *Gilgit Mss.*, III, 1, p. 49.

tradition it attained prominence as Buddha alighted there from Tāvatiṃsa heaven after preaching *Abhidhamma* to his mother. Śakra provided three staircases one for the gods, one for the Brahmās and the middle one for the Great Being. The Chinese travellers found the monasteries of the place full of monks (see infra, p. 314).

Ālavi was situated on the road leading from Sāvatthī to Rājagaha and was 30 *yojanas* distant from the former place. It has been identified by Cunningham with Newal in the Unao district and by N. L. Dey with *Aviwa*, near Etawah. There was a hermitage called Aggālavacetiya, where Buddha and other monks resided from time to time. There is the tradition that Buddha controlled the Yakkha of Ālavi (see p. 107), and ultimately turned him into a devotee of his. He admitted Hatthaka and Selā, two distinguished inhabitants of the place, into his order of monks and nuns respectively and made a few other lay-devotees. He passed the sixteenth *varṣā* here. He delivered here a number of discourses and framed a few disciplinary rules.

The VATSAS or VAṂSAS occupied a small territory between Kośala and Avantī. Kauśāmbī was their capital. It was a very old city and is identified with Kośam near Allahabad. It is said that the Kuru king Nicakṣu, contemporary of king Janaka, transferred his capital from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī. There is a reference in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] to a teacher who was a native of Kauśāmbī, and a contemporary of the famous Upaniṣadic

[1] *Śatapatha Br.*, XII. 2. 2. 13.

figure Uddālaka Āruṇi. Nicakṣu was a descendant of Janamejaya and was instrumental in bringing the Bharata dynasty to this place. It is not unlikely that king Śatānīka Parantapa[1] belonged to this dynasty. His son was king Udena, who was a contemporary of Buddha. It was a city of great importance in the time of Buddha. It was 30 *yojanas* distant by river from Banaras. The monks of this place were very quarrelsome (see infra, p. 251). Devadatta and Channa, well known for their notoriety, resided here. There were four monasteries at the place, known as Kukkuṭārāma, Ghositārāma, Badarikārāma and Pāvārika-ambavana provided by the three bankers Kukkuṭa, Ghosita and Pāvārika who became lay-devotees of Buddha. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja resided here and used to preach the doctrines to king Udena. The Vatsas ruled over also the Bhaggas of Suṁsumāragiri and posted Prince Bodhi-rajkumāra, son of king Udena, by Vāsuladattā, daughter of Caṇḍa Pajjota, as the viceroy.

The ŚĀKYAS : The Śākyan territory lay in the Nepalese Terai. Its capital Kapilavastu has been identified by Rhys Davids and P. C. Mukherji with Tilaura Koṭ. The Rummindei Pillar of Aśoka marks the Lumbinī garden, the birth place of Prince Siddhārtha. The Śākyans claimed their descent from the Iksvāku family. A king of this family banished his sons by a queen in order to give the throne to the son of another queen. The sons left the royal city and came with their sisters to settle in the Himalayan region. They founded the city of

[1] See *PHAI.*, pp. 40, 47, 70, 132 ; also Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya.*

Kapilavastu at a site where resided Ṛṣi Kapila. They maintained the purity of their lineage. One of their sisters who was suffering from an incurable disease was married by a banished king of Banaras called Rāma, who was also suffering from the same disease. Their descendants became known as the Koliyas, who lived in a territory adjacent to that of the Śākyans with only a small rivulet, Rohinī, intervening. On one occasion there was a bitter quarrel between the two tribes for diverting water of the river Rohinī. The Śākyans were a republican clan who had an elected chief and carried on the administration of the territory by councils held in the Council Hall (Santhāgāra). In the Nikāyas it is clearly stated that the Śākyans acknowledged the supremacy of King Pasenadi of Kośala.

The Śākyans however were very proud of their purity of descent and declined to give any daughter in marriage to king Pasenadi, who was given a daughter of the Śākyan noble Mahānāma by a slave girl. King Pasenadi had a son Viḍūḍabha by this queen called Vāsabhakhattiyā. He made him an army commander and not a successor to his throne. Viḍūḍabha managed to capture the throne and had his revenge on the Śākyans for being perfidious to his father and massacred them.

The Śākyans were pro-Brāhmanic and did not at first give proper reception to Buddha and his teachings. A few noted Śākyans were converted by Buddha and thus there was a beginning of the propagation of Buddhism in that territory. Buddha visited the place on many occasions t

deliver discourses or to lay down disciplinary rules. There were, in this territory, a few cities and villages, which were visited by Buddha, viz., Cātumā, Khomadussa, Sāmagāma, Devadaha, Sīlāvatī, Naṅgaraka, Medalumpa or Ulumpa. Of these places Cātumā had a motehall while Khomadussa was a village of Brāhmins. Sāmagāma was a small place where Buddha once paid a visit and heard the news of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta's death. Devadaha was the homeland of Mahāmāyā and Mahāpajāpati Gotamī as also of Yaśodharā. The Lumbini garden was near Devadaha.

The MALLAS were another tribe who lived next to the Śākyans and Koliyans. Their territory lay 12 *yojanas*, east of Kapilavastu. They were divided into two sections known as Mallas of Pāvā and Mallas of Kusīnārā. Pāvā has been identified with Padraona, a place 12 miles to the north east of Kāśī. It was at Pāvā that the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra laid down his mortal remains. Kusīnārā has been identified with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district. This identification has been confirmed by the discovery of a copper plate containing the inscription "*parinirvāṇa-caitya-tāmrapaṭṭa*." Kusīnārā was a petty village when Buddha selected this for his demise. Buddha visited both Pāvā and Kusīnārā. It was at Pāvā that he consecrated the Mote-hall Ubbhaṭaka of the Mallas and took his last meal in the house of Cunda. From Pāvā he went to Kusīnārā which he immortalised by laying there down his mortal remains. Besides Pāvā and Kusīnārā there were in the Malla kingdom a few other places visited by Buddha, viz., Bhoganagara, Anupiya and Uruvela-

kappa-Mahāvana. Anupiya was on the Anomā river, 36 *yojanas* from Rājagaha. It was reached by Prince Siddhārtha on the night of his retirement.

PAÑCĀLA[1] and ŚŪRASENA[2] though included within the province of Uttar Pradesh did not attain much importance in the early history of Buddhism except that a few notable converts hailed from these areas. Pañcāla was distinguished in ancient times as north (Uttara) and South (Dakṣiṇa). Kampilla[3] was the capital of the north, and sometimes also of the south. It was subjugated once by the Kurus of Kururaṭṭha.[4] It has been identified by Cunningham with modern Kampil on the Ganges about 5 miles from Kaimganj. In the Pāli texts we come across the place name Kaṇṇakujja (Kānyakubja, Kanauj) as a halting station on the road from Verañja to Vārāṇasī or from Saṅkassa to Sahajāti. In the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya[5] Ayodhyā is included in Dakṣiṇa-Pañcāla.

Śūrasena, the Sourasenoi of the Greeks, lay to the west of Pañcāla. Its capital Mathurā attained great importance in the post-Aśokan history of Buddhism. In the Pāli

[1] It corresponds to Bareilly, Budaun, Farrukhabad, the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab (*PHAI*, 5th ed., p. 135). According to Cunningham Pañcāla extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Chambal river.

[2] Its extent and boundary are not yet determined. It was perhaps a small tract around Mathurā on the Yamunā.

[3] *Jātaka*, III, p. 379.

[4] *Jātaka*, V, p. 444 ; *Mahābhārata*, I., p. 138.

[5] *Gilgit Mss.*, III, i. p. 48.

texts this country was designated Uttara Madhurā in order to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Avantī state. In the *Ghaṭajātaka*, Mathurā has been made the scene of the Kṛṣṇa legend.

ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION

In the Pāli texts are mentioned a few routes of communication connecting the different important places. The area covered by Buddha's peregrinatious and his missionary activities was confined mostly to the central and eastern parts of India from Kauśāmbī in the west to Kuśīnārā and Rājgir in the east and from Śrāvastī (Sāhet Māhet near Bahraich) in the north to Banaras in the south. Evidently this area was less Brāhmanised and was to a large extent outside the stronghold of Brāhmanism, which had its centre in the land of the Kurus. The places visited by Buddha were interconnected by roads used mostly by the caravan traders, in whose company the religieux of ancient India usually travelled for the sake of food, safety and other conveniences as the monks also were not immune from the hands of highwaymen. There are indications of a few routes which were taken by persons seeking interview with the great Teacher. Bāvarī who was originally an inhabitant of Kośala, being the son of a chaplain of king Pasenadi, became an ascetic and after residing for some time in the royal park left the place and lived in a hermitage on the bank of the Godāvarī. He had a number of disciples, some of whom were sent by him to Buddha. The route taken by these disciples lay

through Patiṭṭhāna,[1] Māhissati,[2] Ujjeni,[3] Gonaddha, Vedisā,[4] Vanasāvhaya, Kosambī,[5] Sāketa[6] to Sāvatthī.[7] Then from Sāvatthī, they proceeded through Setavyā, Kapilavatthu[8] Kusīnārā,[9] Pāvā,[10] Bhoganagara, Vesālī[11] and reached Rājagaha[12] where was staying Buddha at the time,[13] the distance between Sāvatthī and Rājagaha being 45 *yojanas* or 135 miles. The portion of the route from Kosambī to Pāvā lies within the boundaries of Uttar Pradesh.

[1] Mod. Paithan (Pitinika of Aśokan edicts) on the north bank of the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad district of Hyderabad.

[2] Identified with the rocky island of Māndhātā. See *PH.II.*, p. 145.

[3] Mod. Ujjain

[4] Old Bessnagar, 2 miles from Bhilsa in Bhopal.

[5] Kosam near Allahabad

[6] Probably on Sarayū river near Bahraich. The distance of Sāketa from Kosambī is 43 *yojanas* 129 miles (one yojana being about 3 miles). Sāketa has been identified with the ruins of Sujān Kot on the Sai river in Unnao district. The river referred to is probably Sarayū. Between Sāvatthī and Sāketa there was a broad river, perhaps Gogra (*Vinaya*, iv, pp 65, 228).

[7] On Aciravatī or Rāpti called Sahet Mahet on the border of Gonda and Bahraich districts. PHAI., p. 100. Sāvatthī is said to be 7 *yojanas* from Sāketa i.e., about 21 miles (*Vinaya*, i, 253).

[8] 12 miles from Nautanwa.

[9] Kasia near Gorakhpur.

[10] Padraona 12 miles n. e. from Kasia.

[11] Mod. Basarh to the east of Gandak in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.

[12] Mod. Rajgir near Patna.

[13] *Suttanipāta*, 976-1146.

In the Vinaya Piṭaka (iii, 11) is mentioned a second route traversed by Buddha himself. It started from Verañja in the west and passed through Soreyya, Saṅkassa,[1] Kaṇṇakujja,[2] Payāgatittha[3] to Banaras, all of which except Soreyya are within Uttara Pradesh. In the account[4] of the second Council, is mentioned a similar route. Yasa Thera went to Soreyya to meet Revata Thera there but as the latter had already left the place, he followed him through the route Saṅkassa, Kaṇṇakujja, Udumbara, Aggālapura and met him at Sahajāti, which was situated on the Ganges. Yasa took the eastward route to Vesālī from Kaṇṇakujja. Sahajāti was perhaps somewhere on the other side of the Ganges not far from Kanauj. A third route lay from Sāvatthī to Rājagaha through Kiṭāgiri and Ālavi which was 30 *yojanas* distant from Sāvatthī[5] and 12 *yojanas* from Banaras.[6] Cunningham and Hoernle identified Ālavi with Newal in the Unao district, but according to the Buddhist traditions it should be somewhere between Sultanpur and Jaunpur.

[1] Identified with Sankissā, a village in Farrukhabad district between Atrajni and Kanauj, about 45 miles from the latter place. The distance of Sankissā to Madhurā was 4 *yojanas* (Kaccāyana, iii, 1) and 30 *yojanas* from Śrāvastī (*Jātaka*, iv 265). If one yojana be taken as 3 miles the statement of Kaccāyana may be accepted but not that of the *Jātaka*. see infra, pp. 314, 337.

[2] Kanauj.

[3] Allahabad. From Kosambī to Banaras the distance by Yamuna was 30 *yojanas* i.e., about 90 miles which appears to be a fair estimate.

[4] *Vinaya*, II.

[5] *Vanaya*, II, pp. 170-5.

[6] *Watters*, ii, p. 61 ; *Fa hian*, pp. 60, 62.

There must have been many other short routes as the Buddhist texts abound with the names of places located mostly round about Kapilavastu, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī and Banaras. Many of them were perhaps villages or small towns where Buddha found his devotees. The measurements of distance given in the texts were just guess works but it will be found that many were not very wide of the mark

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF NORTHERN INDIA BEFORE THE TIME OF BUDDHA

IT is necessary here to dilate upon the religious and social conditions of the *Madhyadeśa* just before the rise of Buddhism. The period of 7th-6th centuries B.C. is of considerable importance in the history of this region. It marked the transitional stage not only in the political field but also in the life and thought of the people. The trend of opinion was now growing against the rigidity of the Vedic sacrifices. The mental stir of the age was responsible for this change.[1] In the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* we notice the ferment for true knowledge. In place of the elaborate and expensive Vedic rituals, the mind of the thoughtful people was directed to the attainment of peace and salvation by the knowledge of *Ātman* and *Paramātman*. The high position which the Brāhmaṇa priests had so far occupied could no longer be maintained. The Kṣatriyas had now gained predominance.[2] Some of them were

[1] We notice this change in some passages of the *Rigveda* also (cf. R. V. X, 129).

[2] Some of the Kṣatriya kings, instead of employing Brāhmaṇa teachers, were now themselves imparting education to their sons. In the *Gāmaṇi Caṇḍa Jātaka*(II, 257) we read about a king who taught his son the Vedas and the worldly knowledge ("*tayo vede sabbaṃ ca loke kattabbaṃ*").

great philosophers. Even the learned Brāhmaṇas used to approach them for seeking higher learning. The examples of the royal philosophers like Pravāhaṇa Jaibali, Janaka and Ajātaśatru are before us. The first mentioned king used to hold intellectual discussions at his court in Kāmpilya. From the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (VI, 1, 1) and the *Chāndogya* (V, 3, 1) Upaniṣads we learn that Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka Āruṇi, went to the assembly of this king. Jaibali asked him several searching questions about the nature of soul and the other world. Śvetaketu, however, failed to give satisfactory answers. On his return, he conveyed this to his learned father, Uddālaka Āruṇi. Thereupon both the father and the son went to king Jaibali, who gave them necessary instructions in higher knowledge.

It should not be supposed that the Vedic rituals were totally ignored in this age of reason and higher learning. They, no doubt, continued, but in a less vigorous form. The theology, as contained in the late Vedic literature, was still current. Mystic significance was attached to the Vedic rituals and sacrifices. In the Śrauta Sūtras and the Gṛihya Sūtras, we come across elaborate descriptions of Vedic rituals. Many Brāhmaṇas were still earning their livelihood through these Yajñas. They were patronized by the kings and nobles. This state of affairs continued at the time of the Buddha also.[1]

[1] King Prasenajit (Pasenadi) of Kośala and Udayana (Udena) of Kauśāmbī were believers in the efficacy of Vedic rituals.

There was no central organisation of the Brāhmaṇa-priests during this age. There were no temples of theirs, where people could worship. In the absence of such temples the common folk used to worship trees in the form of *Vrikṣa Devatās* (tree-gods). Besides, the Nāga-cult was also prevalent. These Nāgas (serpents) were regarded as very wealthy and powerful. They were supposed to live, like mermen and mermaids, under waters. They could also assume human forms and people were afraid of them. These Nāgas were worshipped both in the form of serpents and human-beings.[1]

Then come the Yaksas and the Gandharvas The Yakṣas were regarded very powerful. In the Madhya deśa they had several centres, notably at Mathurā and Ālavi. Kubera was the lord of these Yakṣas. He was regarded as the god of wealth. Some of the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were cruel and fearful, while others were of pleasant forms, mild and benevolent. The ancient literature contains numerous references to the Yakṣa worship. In the *Māhābhārata* also we come across the Yakṣas, one of whom asked some questions (*Yakṣapraśna*)[2] to

[1] The first is called '*Sarpavigraha*.' Generally, females desiring children used to worship such images in the form of cobras. The human-form (*Mānavavigraha*) had usually the figure of a male or female having the serpent hoods on the back of the head.

[2] Cf. '*Brahmodya*' of the Vedic literature (*Yajurveda*, 32, 9 ; 45) which is the same as '*Yakṣapraśna*.' Yakṣa is generally referred to as '*Brahma*' in the Vedic literature. The worship of '*Barama*' or '*Baramadeva*' is current upto this day, and so also the worship of *Bira Jakhaiyā, Mātā, Joginī, Ḍākinī* etc., which are the present forms of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis.

Yudhiṣṭhira. From the Buddhist and Jaina literature we learn that the Yakṣa-cult had a wide popularity in the northern India. We read about the names of such powerful Yakṣas as Umbaradatta, Surambara, Māṇibhadra, Bhaṇḍīra, Śūlapāṇi, Surpriya, Ghaṇṭika and Pūrṇa Bhadra. Similarly we come across such names of the Yakṣiṇīs as Kuntī, Naṭā, Bhaṭṭā, Revatī, Tamasurī, Lokā, Mekhalā, Alikā, Bendā, Maghā, Timisikā etc.[1] People were afraid of them and used to pay homage to these so-called semi-divine figures. The last mentioned four Yakṣinīs belonged to Mathura. According to the tradition they were restrained by Buddha from their unpleasant deeds. The Yakṣa called Gardabha was at that time very powerful at Mathura. Buddha succeeded in subduing him also and relieved the people of Mathura from the constant fear of this Yakṣa.[2] Similarly the great Yakṣa of Ālavi was also humbled by Buddha.

During the period before the birth of Buddha, a number of superstitious beliefs were current in the north India. We read about the following kinds of 'animistic hocus-pocus' followed by the people of *Madhya deśa* :—

"Palmistry, divination of all sorts, auguries drawn from the celestial phenomena, prognostications by interpretation of dreams, auguries drawn from marks on cloth gnawed by mice, sacrifices to Agni,—it is characteristic to find these in such company—oblations of various sorts to gods,

[1] Cf. Motichandra, 'Some Aspects of Yaksha cult,' *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, 1954, *pp.* 43 *ff.*

[2] N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, part I, pp. 14-17.

determining lucky sites, repeating charms, laying ghosts, snake charming, using similar arts on other beasts and birds, astrology, the power of prophecy, incantations, oracles, consulting gods through a girl possessed or by means of mirrors, worshipping the Great One invoking Siri (the goddess of luck), vowing vows to gods, muttering charms to cause virility or impotence, consecrating sites, and more of the same kind".[1]

Thus we find that people had faith in magic rituals and mystic utterances. The Vedic gods—Indra, Agni etc.—were still worshipped. But side by side, the worship of *Mātridevī* (mother-goddess), *Vrikṣadevatā* (tree-deity), *Yakṣas, Nāgas* and *Asuras* was also fairly popular. Some of these were benevolent while others were cruel and offensive. Several of these latter deities symbolized the air, cloud, heat or light and quite a few represented the mental faculties.

This transitional age was an age of religious freedom. People were free to choose their way of life. This freedom of belief gave rise to several cults and creeds. The contention of some scholars that the pre-Buddhist society was rigidly bound by the ritualistic conventions created by the Brāhmaṇa priests is not sound. Had this been the case we would not have seen so many different cults and modes of life. In fact the freedom in religious outlook had given rise to several streams of thought, which existed side by side. In the Pāli literature we read about the existence of 62 doctrinal views before Buddha. There were Ājīvakas,

[1] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (Calcutta ed. 1950), pp. 143-44.

Parivrājakas, Jaṭilakas, Muṇḍa Śrāvakas, Tedaṇḍikas etc. The Jaina canons refer to no less than 363 cults ! Many of these must have been gradually absorbed in the Vedic, Jaina or Buddhist modes of life. Before Buddha preached his new *Dhamma*, there was quite a large number of eminent religious leaders propagating different faiths. Buddha had met some of them. In the Buddhist works we read the names of several such luminaries as Purāṇa Kassapa, Makkhalī Gosāla, Nigaṇṭha, Nātaputta, Ajita Keśakambalin, Asita Rishi, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Velaṭṭhaputta, Ālāra Kālāma, Uddaka Rāmaputta (Rudraka Rāmaputra) etc.[1]

Let us now turn to the social condition of the period. Before the rise of Buddhism, colour (*vaṇṇa*) was the main decisive factor of various grades in the society. But it had not yet assumed the form of the rigid 'caste' system of the later times. The superiority of the Brāhmaṇas, based on the caste theory, was now confined only to a small class. On the other hand, the theory of *Karma* (Kamma) was becoming more popular. It was believed that people of the lower strata could also attain higher status in the society, if their actions were good. In the Upaniṣads and in several discourses of Buddha on this subject, we find the echo of the above sentiment.[2]

The people could change their hereditary professions. In the Jātakas we come across several such instances. At one place[3] we read about a Kṣatriya, who first takes up

[1] For detailed treatment, see Barua, *History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* ; N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I.

[2] Cf. *JRAS.*, 1901, pp. 868.

[3] *Jātaka* V, 290.

the profession of a potter. Then he becomes a basket-maker. After that, he turns a florist and then a cook. But he does not lose his caste thereby. Similarly we read about a Seṭṭhi doing the work of a tailor and potter, without the loss of his social rank.[1] When some Brāhmanas found it difficult to earn their livelihood, they turned to other professions. We find the mention being made of the Brāhmaṇas turning to such professions as agriculture,[2] trade,[3] carpentry[4] or hunting.[5] Some of them were doing the work of a teacher, or that of an astrologer or a charmer.

Besides the three upper social ranks—the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (*Seṭṭhis*), there were people of lower status also. They were engaged in the so-called lower professions (*hīnasippāni*). Such people were bird-catchers, dancers, barbers, potters, leather-workers, weavers, basket-makers, carpenters etc. Below these were the Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas.[6] There were also the slaves, whosec hildren also were, generally, regarded as slaves. For the most part these slaves were household servants. Their number was rather small and they received good treatment from their masters.

Both the customs of regular (*anuloma*) and irregular (*pratiloma*) marriages were current. Generally the

[1] *Jātaka*, VI, 372.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, 163, V, 68.
[3] *Ibid.*, V, 471, II, 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 207.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, 200.
[6] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 162 ; Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, II, 301.

child born of the parents of different social ranks was assigned to the higher rank. Irregular unions were quite popular.[1] The inter-caste dining was also fairly common. But the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas dining with the Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas etc., were despised.

One of the important features of the society was the Āśrama system. In the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* we read about three Āśramas only—viz., *Brahmacarya, Gṛhastha* and *Vānaprastha*. These three were regarded as the three branches of the Tree of Life rather than the three successive stages of life. In the later *Upaniṣads,* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Dharma sūtras,* we generally find these Āśramas in the form of the successive stages of life and the fourth Āśrama of Sannyāsa is also now added to them.

During the period under review we find the people of the third (*Vānaprastha*) Āśrama living in forests. They eschewed the Vedic sacrifices and were inquisitive of the true knowledge which brought happiness and peace of mind. Some of them adopted the practice of preaching to the laymen the correct way of life, based not on Vedic rituals, but on the acquisition of the real knowledge (*jñāna mārga*). Some of the talented ladies also became preachers of the high philosophical canons. Gradually people became more inclined towards the doctrine of *Jñāna*. They began to think it futile to be entrenched behind the cult of Vedic rituals.

[1] *Jātaka*, IV, 38, 146 ; VI, 348.

The language of the people at this time was *Pāli* It was current from Takshaśilā in the west, to Campā[1] in the east. The Sanskrit language was confined to a small number of the higher class. It was different from the ancient Vedic Sanskrit. In the Pāli language, then current, many words of the Vedic Sanskrit had been absorbed. Some new words were also coined or were taken from the non-Āryan languages. Buddha adopted Pāli as the medium of his preachings, thereby enraging the orthodox Brāhmaṇa priests, who had a sort of hatred for this language of the people.

The economic condition of the pre-Buddhist society was fairly good. A number of crafts were flourishing and the means of communications were also satisfactory. On the main roads were situated several big industrial towns, like Campā, Rājagriha, Vaiśālī, Vārāṇasī, Ayodhyā, Sāketa, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Takshaśilā. There were a number of crafts both in the towns and villages. Occasional references are found to the weavers, ivory and metal workers, carpenters, potters and stone-cutters. Besides, the garland-makers, confectioners, leather-workers, dyers, jewellers, basket-makers etc., are also mentioned.[2]

During the period under review the craftsmen and the businessmen had almost freed themselves from being entirely dependent upon the agriculture-class. They now

[1] In the Bhāgalpur district of Bihar. It was the capital of the ancient Aṅga kingdom.

[2] For a detailed list of the crafts see Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-60.

went ahead with their professions. Besides fulfilling the needs of the village-farmers, they began to prepare extra ready-made material for exports. Another important step was taken up by the craftsmen by forming their respective guilds. These guilds or corporations were called '*Nigama*,' '*Saṅgha*,' *Śreṇī*, *Pūga* and *Nikāya*. Each guild had its Head or President, who was called *pamukha* (*pramukha*) or *jeṭṭhaka* (*Jyeṣṭhaka*). In the *Jātakas* we read about such names as *kammārajeṭṭhaka* (*Jātaka* no. 387), *mālākārajeṭṭhaka* (no. 415), *vaḍḍhaki-jeṭṭhaka* (no. 466) etc. The heads of the traders were called *Sattha-vāhajeṭṭhaka* (no. 256). The robbers also had their own *jeṭṭhaka*. In one *Jātaka* (no. 279) mention is made of a gang of 500 robbers. In another *Jātaka* (no. 466) we read about 1,000 carpenters of a village. There were two *jeṭṭhakas* of these, one over each 500[1].

At several places the head of the guild is called *Seṭṭhi*. The number of members of various guilds varied. These guilds or corporations looked after the protection and development of their respective crafts.[2] The *jeṭṭhakas* had often an important voice in the matters of administration of the country. The various corporations had their own rules, which were honoured by the king. In case any breach or dispute arose among the members of a guild, the king

[1] *Kulasahasse pañcannaṃ pañcannaṃ kulasatānaṃ jeṭṭhakā dve vaḍḍhaki ahesuṃ* (*Jātaka* no. 466).

For a detailed account of the guilds see R.C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 5, 18-19; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp.57 ff.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 16—"*Bahūpakārako devassa ceva negamassa.*"

regarded it his duty to set the matters aright.[1] From the *Jātakas* we also learn that some of the heads of these guilds were appointed as high government officers. Two presidents of Kośala were holding the esteemed position of Ministers of the State.[2] At another place[3] the President of the guild of iron-smiths has been called king's favourite. Another *Jeṭṭhaka*[4] was made the treasurer of the kingdom.

The early Buddhist literature abounds in references to *Seṭṭhis*. These *Seṭṭhis* occupied different ranks. The highest rank was that of the *Mahāseṭṭhi*. Lower in rank than him were the *Anuseṭṭhis* and *Uttaraseṭṭhis*. They enjoyed an honourable position in the society. The story of the *Seṭṭhi* Anāthapiṇḍika, the contemporary of Buddha, is very wellk nown. He had close relations with the *Mahāseṭṭhi* of Rājagriha.[5] Even Bimbisāra, the Magadha Emperor, paid visits to the latter. Similarly there were other *Seṭṭhis* of high status, such as Mrigadhara, Yaśa, Meṇḍaka and Dhanañjaya. The *Jātakas* refer to several *Seṭṭhis* owning fabulous wealth.[6] These *Seṭṭhis* used to make donations for the works of public utility. They rendered considerable assistance to the rulers in the completion of the various development plans of the

[1] Cf. *Gautama Dharma sūtra*, XI, 21.
[2] *Uraga Jātaka*, 1, 154.
[3] *Sūcī Jātaka*.
[4] *Nigrodha Jātaka*, no. 445.
[5] *Cullavagga*, VI, 4, 1.
[6] *Jātaka* nos. 128, 300, 382 and 445.

State. During the absence of the *Seṭṭhi* his duties were performed by the *Anuseṭṭhi* or the *Uttaraseṭṭhi*.[1]

The ranks of the Mahāseṭṭhi etc., were usually hereditary. They enjoyed a high position, honoured by the king. In the *Aṭṭhāna Jātaka* (no. 425) we read that the prince of Banaras and the son of the *Seṭṭhi* of that town received education together. Their friendship continued even after they had completed their education and had fairly grown up. Some of the *Seṭṭhis* were also patrons of literature and fine arts. The musicians, dancers, painters and other artists were maintained by them. At times they arranged special programmes of entertainment. Some of the Seṭṭhis were living outside big towns, in villages. Probably the term *Janapada Seṭṭhi* has been applied for such people.[2]

The *Seṭṭhis* used to send their sons to Takshaśilā and other places for higher education. Takshaśilā at this time was a great centre of learning, where not only theology, philosophy and literature were taught, but training in various arts and crafts (*sippāni*) was also imparted.

The craftsmen and traders of this period used to make munificent donations for temples, hospitals and educational institutions. They also helped the poor and the needy. Due to absence of the banking system, people generally buried their wealth under the ground.[3]

[1] See Richard Fick, *The Social Organisation in Northern India in Buddha's time* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 258 ff.

[2] *Nigrodha Jātaka*, no. 445.

[3] Cf. *Jātaka*, nos. 39, 73 and 137.

The rates of interest varied according to the circumstances. Sometimes no interest was charged on the money lent. According to Vasiṣṭha the rates of interest varied from 2% to 5%.[1] It was deemed derogatory for the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas to lend money on interest.

Thus we find that the economic condition of the people of *Madhya deśa* before the time of Buddha was fairly sound. Various arts and crafts were flourishing in the kingdoms of Kośala, Kāśī, Pañcāla and Śūrasena. There were a number of trade-routes in the country. One big road went from Śrāvastī to Pratiṣṭhāna. This road passed through such big towns as Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, Gonarda, Ujjainī and Māhiṣmatī. The second important road joined Śrāvastī to Rājagṛiha. The traders going by this road first went from Śrāvastī to Vaiśālī, from where they turned to south. On this road there were several big halting places, like Setavya, Kapilavastu, Kuśīnagara, Pāvā, Hastigrāma, Bhaṇḍagrāma, Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra and Nālandā.[2]

[1] *Vasiṣṭha Dharma sūtra*, II, 48-49.

[2] For these and other routes see p. 16 f.

CHAPTER III

EARLY LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA

THE advent of Gautama Buddha into the mortal world took place at an epoch when the people of Kosala were perplexed with conflicting and divergent religious and philosophical views of the Brāhmanic and non-Brāhmanic teachers. The ancient Brāhmanism, with its complicated ritualistic sacrificial system, still held the sway over the minds of the people, though the Upaniṣadic teachers opened up a new vista of life and inculcated the doctrine of the sameness of the Brahman, the Ultimate Truth, with all beings of the Universe from the highest to the lowliest. Their philosophy, in fact, cuts. the ground underneath the feet of the Brāhmanas and Kṣatriyas, who claimed superiority by birth, though the Upaniṣads admitted and supported their superior social and religious status. It was left to Gautama Buddha to remove this anomaly between the philosophy of life and the practice obtained in the then society. A scion of the noble family, inured to age-long Brāhmanic traditions, had an inward upsurge, and after a long and arduous struggle, he was able to visualise the Truth of oneness of all human beings irrespective of caste, creed or social position. He had the courage and conviction to speak out the Truth though it gave a rude shock to the long-cherished beliefs of the people and particularly to the strong hierarchy of the Brāhmaṇas. On

account of his noble descent though he eschewed all claims to the royalty, he could obtain a hearing of the mass and assert himself against the strong opposition and secure the support of kings, nobles, learned teachers, chiefs of clans and sons of rich bankers. It is rather remarkable that his new outlook appealed more to the learned Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas than to the common folk, to whom he directed his attention most. With the first band of disciples recruited from Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Śreṣṭhī families, he was able to give a footing to his revolutionary teachings, and his banner was kept aloft not by the commoners but by some of the most distinguished teachers and ascetics. To appreciate the greatness of the Prince-Teacher it is worth while to know the traditions about his life, fondly preserved by the Buddhists of different times.

The traditional life of Buddha is carried back to his pre-Bodhisattva and Bodhisattva stages.

The pre-Bodhisattva stage is denoted as *Prakṛti-caryā* in the *Mahāvastu*, a biography of Buddha. While in this *Caryā* (course of training) a being is only a common individual (*prakṛti*, Pāli : *puthujjana*), and is expected to be (i) obedient to his parents, (ii) charitable to the Śramaṇas (recluses) and Brāhmaṇas, (iii) respectful to the elders and (iv) observant of the ten kinds of good deeds (*kuśala-karma-pathas*).[1] He should also (v) exhort others to offer gifts and earn merits, and (vi) worship Buddhas and Arhats, but he does not develop the aspiration to attain Buddhahood. In the *Nidānakathā*, the Pāli biography of Buddha, the duties of the common individual are not detailed and it is simply stated that the Bodhisattva in his pre-

Bodhisattva stage lived at the time of Buddhas called Taṇhaṁkara, Medhaṁkara and Saraṇaṁkara.

The Bodhisattva stage commenced, according to the *Mahāvastu*, from the time of another ancient Śākyamuni Buddha, when our Bodhisattvam ade the first Resolution (*praṇidhāna*) to attain Bodhi and this *praṇidhāna* he made several times afterwards at long intervals. This period of *praṇidhānas* only is called *Praṇidhi* or *Praṇidhāna-caryā*

The next *Caryā* (course of training) called *Anuloma* (going forward) of our Bodhisattva commenced at the time of Samitāvī Buddha, when he started acquiring the virtues indispensable for a Bodhisattva, and this is delineated in the several Jātakas. According to the Mahāyānic conception, the Bodhisattva advances while in the *Anulomacaryā* from the first to the eighth stage of spiritual progress (*bhūmi*). The fourth *Caryā* (course of training) called *Aruvarta* or *Anivartana* (non-returning) was taken up by our Bodhisattva at the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, when he was born as Meghamāṇava or Sumedha Brāhmaṇa.

The story of Megha Māṇava, given in the *Mahāvastu*, is as follows: Megha Māṇava completed his Brāhmanic education and came down to the plains of Himavanta to procure the fee to be given to his Guru on the termination of his studies. He received from a gentleman 500 coins (*purāṇas*). He wanted to see the capital Dīpavatī and found that the city was in a festive mood, and on enquiry learnt from a beautiful young maiden with seven lotuses in her hand, that the city had been decorated to welcome Buddha

Megha Māṇava

Dīpaṅkara. He thereupon offered to purchase her five lotuses by paying 500 *purāṇas*. He was told that he could have them if only he would promise to take her as his wife. After remonstrating a little, he agreed to her proposal on her assurance that she would not stand in the way of his spiritual advancement. On seeing the glorious appearance of Buddha Dīpaṅkara, he became deeply reverential and attained the notion of non-duality (*advaya-samjñā*). He became a devotee of Buddha by seeing his miraculous powers and expressed his devotion combined with admiration by wiping the lotus-like feet of Buddha by his long hair, and while doing so, he developed the aspiration to attain *bodhi*.

According to the *Nidāna-Kathā*, the Bodhisattva stage commenced from the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha and not earlier, as stated in the *Mahāvastu*. At his time, our Bodhisattva was born as Sumedha Brāhmana, whose story runs

Sumedha Brāhmaṇa

thus—Sumedha was born at Amarāvatī, in a very rich Brāhmaṇa family of pure lineage. He lost his parents at an early age. He learned the Brāhmanic sciences and was sick of the wealth left by his parents. He gave them away in charity and became an ascetic seeking immortality (*amata-mahānibbāna*) which was free from origin and decay, pleasure and pain, diseases and sufferings. He realised that as every thing in this world had two aspects, positive and negative, so as an antithesis to birth there must be something unborn, and he was going to realise it. He went to the Himālayas and took up an abode at Dhammaka mountain, living only on fruits falling from

trees. He soon attained perfection in meditations and the five higher powers (*abhiññā*).

Occasionally he used to visit the villages for salt and verjuice, and so one day he came down to Rammaka. At that time Buddha Dīpaṅkara reached the city of Rammaka in a border country (*paccantadesavisaya*) and stopped at Sudassanamahāvihāra. Sumedha-tāpasa found all the people busy in making the place neat and tidy for welcoming Buddha and so he also came forward to take a share in it. He was charmed by the glory of Buddha's appearance and wanted to lay down his life for him. Lest Buddha should soil his feet in a miry place, he lay flat on it like a bridge of jewels (*maṇiphalakasetu*) in order that Buddha and his disciples, who were all perfect (*arhats*), might tread on his body. While so lying he wished that he would not attain his own salvation by putting an end to the impurities which he could easily have done, but would become a Buddha in order that he might rescue endless beings from the streams of existence. At that time Dīpaṅkara standing just before his head made the forecast that the great Jaṭila ascetic would become a Buddha after innumerable aeons and related in detail where he would be born and how he would attain the supreme knowledge (*bodhi*) and who would become his chief disciples. The forecast was confirmed by many miraculous events including an earthquake and there was no doubt left that Sumedha was a 'Buddha-*bījāṅkura*.' He also realised this fact and ascertained, by his *Abhiññā* (higher powers), the ten perfections (*Pāramitās*) that were acquired by the previous Bodhisattvas for becoming a Buddha. All the existences of the

Bodhisattva after his birth as Sumedha Brāhmaṇa and not prior to it are looked upon in the Pāli tradition as his *anulomacaryā* or onward course for the fulfilment of the *pāramitās* or *pāramis* illustrated in the 550 stories of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. The completion of each of the ten *pāramis* is depicted in the following stories:—

1.	Vessantara Jātaka	Dānapāramitā		(Gift).
2.	Saṁkhapāla ,,	Sīla	,,	(Moral precepts).
3.	Culasutasoma ,,	Nekkhamma	,,	(Retirement).
4.	Sattubhatta	Paññā	,,	(knowledge).
5.	Mahājanaka	Viriya	,,	(Energy).
6.	Khantivāda	Khanti	,,	(Forgiveness).
7.	Mahāsutasoma	Sacca	,,	(Truth).
8.	Mugapakkha	Adhiṭṭhāna	,,	(Resolution).
9.	Ekarāja	Mettā	,,	(Amity).
10.	Lomahaṁsa	Upekkhā	,,	(Equanimity).

The Bodhisatta had his last m[illegible]xistence as K[illegible] Vessantara.

The Avidūre-nidana of the *Nidānakathā*,t he second volume of the *Mahāvastu*, and all the other biographies commence the life of Buddha from his last existence in Tuṣita heaven.[1] When the Bodhisattva was seated gloriously in his throne in the palace of Tuṣita heaven, he was

[1] Cf. *Majjhima*, III, p. 119 : Sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusitaṁ kāyaṁ uppajji, sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusite kāye aṭṭhāsi, sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusitakāyā cavitvā mātu kucchiṁ okkamīti. In the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* it is stated that signs of old age and premonitions of death became apparent on the body of the Tuṣita lord, the Bodhisattva, twelve years before his descent to the mortal world.

entreated by the gods to become a Buddha and was reminded of his past existences in which he made the most earnest endeavours and underwent endless sufferings to acquire the super-excellent virtues of a Bodhisattva. References were made to his repeated and unswerving determination to attain *Bodhi* in order to rescue all beings from the miseries of repeated existences, whether in hells, the earth or heavens. Thus entreated by all the gods, the Bodhisattva announced that the proper time had arrived for his descent to the mortal world for attaining Bodhi and he would do so after twelve years. In order to make Jambudvīpa ready for his advent, the gods came down to the earth in the form of Brāhmaṇa teachers to teach the Vedas, and to speak on the signs of great men and the seven *ratnas*[1] (jewels) with which such men were endowed. The gods apprised the Pratyekabuddhas about the advent of the Bodhisattva, because they could not stay at a time when a Samyak-sambuddha appeared in the world. On hearing the news of the impending advent of a Samyak-sambuddha, the Pratyekabuddhas immolated themselves by their own internal fire generated by their meditation

[1] The seven *ratnas* are —

(i) Wheel of rulership over the whole earth (cakra-ratna).
(ii) King of elephants with unlimited capacity (hasti-ratna).
(iii) King of horses (aśva-ratna).
(iv) An extremely shining jewel emitting light like the Sun even at midnight (maṇi-ratna).
(v) An exquisitely beautiful queen (strī-ratna).
(vi) A very able chamberlain (*gṛhapati-ratna*).
(vii) A very intelligent and strong Commander-in-Chief (Pariṇāyaka-ratna).

leaving their immaculate mortal frames at Ṛṣipattana deer park (mod. Sārnāth near Banaras).

At the end of twelve years the Bodhisattva surveyed the world to ascertain the proper time of his birth as a human being as also the continent, country and family that would be worthy of him.

The most suitable time for his advent was the declining epoch of the world in which birth, old age, disease and death were prevalent. The best continent, he thought, was Jambudvīpa and not Pūrvavideha, Aparagodāna and Uttarakuru. The right place was a town situated in the middle and not in a border country of Jambudvīpa. This middle country[1] is defined thus :—

On the east the town Kajaṅgala beyond which was Mahāsāla ; on the south-east the river Salalavatī, on the south-west Satakaṇṇika, on the west the Brāhmaṇa village Thuṇa, on the north Usiraddhaja mountain. It was 300 *yojanas* in length, 250 in breadth and 900 in circumference.

The family suited to him should be of the highest caste of the time and not a low caste like reedmakers, carpenters, or Pukkusas. The Kṣatriyas were looked upon at that time as the highest caste and so he chose a Kṣatriya family.

The gods then began to speculate as to which of the sixteen royal families and *janapadas* would be worthy of him. They examined Kosala, Vaṁsas, Vaiśālī, Pradyota,

[1] Majjhima-desa in *Vinaya*, I, p. 197 ; *Jātaka*, I, pp. 49, 80. In *Divyāvadāna* (p. 21) the eastern boundary is extended to include Puṇḍravardhana.

Subāhu of Mathurā, Pāṇḍavas of Hastināpura, Sumitra of Mithilā and found all of them wanting in one or other merit, virtue or quality. Then a spiritually advanced Bodhisattva suggested to them that the Śākyakula[1] was the only Kṣatriya reigning family which would suit him and this was confirmed by the Bodhisattva.

The Bodhisattva then delivered to the Tuṣita gods the collection of instructions called *Dharmāloka,* dealing with all the fundamental principles of the religion and then in order to allay the grief of the Tuṣita gods due to his departure, he nominated Maitreya Bodhisattva as his successor to guide them in spiritual matters.

The gods then discussed among themselves as to the form in which the Bodhisattva should enter into his mother's womb and concluded that it should be in the form of a six-tusked white elephant with a fleshy body and a ruddy head, because such a form was interpreted in astrological

[1] In order to establish the purity of descent of Śakyakula, the *Mahāvastu* goes back to the origin of the world, and then of the Last King Mahāsammata, from whom descended the Sākyas by the male and the Koliyas by the female line. To the Koliyas belonged Bodhisattva's mother and wife. The legend runs as follows : –

Long long ago there were no Earth, Sun, Moon or stars. The beings had only mental and not physical body, free to move anywhere. In course of time the pure beings became subject to temptation for food yielded by the earth and gradually the universe came into existence with Earth, Sun, Moon and stars and the beings lost their mental body and had a tangible physical form. They had ample food-grains grown naturally, but in course of time they began to collect and store more and more, and this led to the taking of one another's food-grains, without one's knowledge (*adinnam anyātakaṃ* – Pali : *adinnam aññātakam,*

treatises as indicating the birth of a great being endowed with the thirty-two signs. As a prediction to his advent into the land of Śākyas, the country became not only full of trees and flowers resounding with the song of birds but also full all sorts of excellent food and fruits.

One day Queen Mahāmāyā had her body washed and anointed with unguents and adorned with jewelleries.

Mahāvastu, I, p. 346) and thus the beings became unrighteous. Then they assembled together and selected a leader who would demarcate the food-grain-fields for every being. He was called therefore "Mahāsammata" (elected by all) who became the king and parent-like guardian of all beings. In the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, it is said that this king had its first kingdom, Ādirājya, at a place near Mathurā (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pt. iv). He was succeeded by a long line of kings ending with Sujāta of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, whose capital was at Sāketa. He had five sons and five daughters and one son called Jenta by a concubine. The king was so much pleased with the concubine that he promised to grant her any boon that might be asked by her, and so she wanted her son Jenta to become the crown prince and the king's legitimate sons to be banished. The king much against his will had to grant the boon but permitted his subjects to accompany his very good sons and supplied them with whatever they needed for going abroad. They all left the kingdom and selected at the foot of the Himalayas a spot where Kapila's hermitage was situated. Their progeny became known as the Śākyas. From the eldest of the five brothers descended king Śuddhodana. One of the five brothers had a beautiful daughter but she suffered from leprosy and so she was kept in a forest cave and supplied with food to maintain her for a long time. A tiger scratched the earth closing the cave which was noticed by Rājarṣi Kola. She was taken as his wife by the Rājarṣi. She gave birth to many sons whose progeny became known as the Koliyas and the cave site became known as 'Vyagghapajja' as a tiger traced her.

Accompanied by many female friends she approached king Śuddhodana and took her allotted seat on the throne. Then she made the request to the king to permit her to live for one week a saintly life observing all the eight-fold moral precepts and practising love and charity. She wanted to remain surrounded only by her female companions, guards and attendants. She also solicited the king to release prisoners and offer gifts to all during the week. The king readily assented to all her requests and issued orders for the fulfilment of her wishes.

The gods discussed among themselves how they should render service to the Bodhisattva while watching him in his home-life, retirement, defeat of Māra and attainment of perfect knowledge (*bodhi*). The goddesses became curious as to the beauty and physical features of the woman who was going to hold in her womb the glorious Great Being, and they were all charmed to see the appearance of Mahāmāyā while she was asleep in the royal palace like a goddess surrounded by apsarasas. When the Bodhisattva along with his throne made a move to leave the Tuṣita heaven, rays went forth from his body and illuminated the whole universe while the earth quaked again and again and all the mortal beings felt happy and forgot sorrow, disease or any other sufferings. The Apsarasas eulogised him recounting what a tremendous amount of sacrifices had been made by him in his previous existences to fulfil the pāramitās, viz., *dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna* and *prajñā* (gift, moral precepts, perseverance, energy, meditation and knowledge).

In the month of Vaiśākha under the constellation of Puṣyā the Bodhisattva in the form of an elephant entered by the right side into the womb of his mother. His entry into his mother's womb was heralded by an earthquake, a flash of light illumining the whole universe and reaching even those hellish beings who lived ever in darkness and never saw even the Sun and the Moon. At dawn the queen moved out of her sleeping apartment and took her seat at Aśoka-vanikā and sent intimation to the king to come and meet her. When she was being approached by the king along with his ministers and councillors, the king felt himself rather heavy as if he was going to face a very august personage. The gods communicated to him the news of Bodhisattva's advent and the queen requested him to call the learned Brāhmanas proficient in the interpretation of dreams. The Brāhmaṇas were duly invited and they on enquiry found that the dream prognosticated the advent of either a Cakravartin or Samyak-sambuddha. During the ten months of Bodhisattva's existence in the womb, four gods kept guard on his mother constantly.

Bodhisattva's advent into the mortal world

The Bodhisattva passed the ten months in a jewelled casket placed within the womb of the queen untouched by the uterine impurities.[1] The mother also remained quite at ease and never felt any discomfort. He drew his nourishment not from his mother's breast but from the

[1] This was disclosed by Buddha on the query of Ananda, who questioned how Buddha, who had an aversion for womanhood, could stay in the womb of a woman.

honey yielded by a lotus which shot up seven times the height of a palm tree. While so seated in the casket, the Bodhisattva used to impart instructions to the gods and other celestial beings. All the beings of the earth became happy and free from ailments and physical disabilities while the mere touch of the Bodhisattva's mother cured an ailing person.

The Bodhisattva's mother also lived the life of a true *brahmacāriṇī*, with her mind completely under restraint. No male cast his eyes upon her with sensual mind and *vice versa*.[1] When ten months had elapsed after this dream, the queen felt that the time for the birth of the Great Being had arrived and approached the king with the request to permit her to go to the garden as the spring season had arrived, trees were in flowers, birds were humming everywhere and pollens were being wafted around. The king also needed rest after the long observance of disciplinary restrictions while the queen also felt wearied as she had been bearing the Great Immaculate Being for ten months. Complying with the wishes of the queen the king issued orders to decorate the streets and the garden and asked his men to get ready the royal chariot superbly furnished and decorated. The gods and apsarasas also came down in large numbers and enlivened the gorgeous procession arranged for the visit of Queen Mahāmāyā to the Lumbinī garden with divine music and heavenly flowers. The queen felt very happy and relieved on reaching the garden and moved about among the trees

[1] *Majjhima*, III, p. 121.

enjoying their soft touch and beauty. A branch of the Plakṣa tree bent down and came within the reach of her hand. While she held the branch by her right hand and stood there, the Bodhisattva stepped down from her right side to the earth, clean and untouched by any impurity. As no human hands should touch the Great Being, the gods hurried to the spot and received the baby in silken cloths with great respect and veneration. A lotus came out of the earth while the Nāgarājas, Nandopananda, sent forth two streams of hot and cold water to wash him and his mother. The baby took seven steps, a lotus issuing out at very step of his, in each of the six directions to indicate that he was going to be the highest among all beings in all the six directions.[1]

Along with the birth of the Bodhisattva were born many sons and daughters in the various Śākyan families, e.g., Ānanda, Devadatta, Anuruddha, Chandaka and a hundred others.

For seven days at Lumbinivana (see p. 328 f.), the Bodhisattva was worshipped by the gods and goddesses, while the Śākyans offered gifts to their hearts' content. It was on the seventh day that the queen, plunging all in dire grief, left the mortal world, and departed to the Trāyastriṁśa heaven to be reborn there as a goddess of exquisite beauty and virtue.

Magnificent arrangements were then made by the king

[1] *Majjhima*, III, p. 123 adds that the Bodhisattva not only took seven steps but also uttered the following words "Aggo'ham asmi lokassa, seṭṭho'ham asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā jāti, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo ti."

to bring the Bodhisattva back to the city of Kapilavastu, and the procession of his return had a thousandfold greater splendour than that with which the queen was taken in her last visit to the Lumbinivana. To express their love and reverence a hundred Śākyans offered a hundred houses, every one soliciting that the Bodhisattva should stay in his house. In order to oblige all of them, the king kept the Bodhisattva for one day in each house and in this way elapsed four months. At last, the Bodhisattva was taken to the royal palace, where he was received with elaborate ceremonies by the elderly Śākyans, who, after due deliberations, entrusted him to the care of his mother's sister, Mahāprajāpati Gautamī.

Ṛṣi Asita

At that time there dwelt in the Himālayas the distinguished ascetic Ṛṣi Asita, who had obtained the five higher powers (*abhiññā*—*abhijñā*).[1] By his divine eyesight he saw the birth of the Great Being and came to Kapilavastu, flying through the air along with his nephew, Naradatta (*alias* Nālaka), to pay his homage.

He was received by the king with due honour and courtesies. After congratulating the king on the birth of the prince, the ascetic expressed his desire to see the baby, who, the king thought, was then asleep and so solicited the asceitc to wait till he awoke. The ascetic corrected the king by telling him that such a being could

[1] Divyacakṣu, divyaśrotra, paracittajñāna, pūrvanivāsajñāna, and ṛddhividhi-jñāna (=divine eyes, divine ears, reading other's thoughts, remembering one's past existences, and attainment of miraculous powers).

not sleep long and usually remained awake. He was thereupon taken to the baby, whose thirtytwo signs[1] were noticed by him and which prognosticated that he would either become a sovereign ruler or a recluse, a Tathāgata, a Samyaksambuddha. The hermit's eyes became wet with tears, at which the king was upset and enquired of the reasons for shedding his tears. Ṛṣi Asita then explained to the king that he felt sad not because anything evil would befall the prince but because he would not live up to the time when the baby would grow up and preach the truth to rescue beings from the bonds of misery and cycles of existences. On hearing the words of the ascetic, the king felt relieved and offered his respects to the baby.

The ascetic then instructed his nephew to become a disciple of the baby as soon as he would become the Buddha. The gods also came to the king's palace and paid their respects to the Great Being unseen by human beings.

According to the custom of the Śākyans, the newly born baby was taken to the temple of gods by Mahāprajāpati.

Siddhārtha as a boy

This brought smile to the face of the baby indicating that as he was the god of gods how could he salute a god of the temple, and so it happened that the moment he was taken into the temple, the images of the various gods became as if suddenly alive and bent down to pay their respects, causing astonishment to all those accompanying the baby.

[1] For the thirty major signs and eighty minor signs see *Lalitavistara* p. 120-2; *Mahāvastu* II, p. 30; Lakkhaṇasutta in *Dīgha*, III.

The royal priest then advised the king to have the customary ornaments made for the baby. The king had them all made ready by Bhadrika Śākyarāja, but when the ornaments were put on the baby's body, their brightenss faded, as also of all the ornaments worn by other babies brought to his presence.

When the baby grew up a little he was taken to the school for education with due pomp and ceremony. The teacher of the school, Viśvāmitra, was so overpowered by the glory of the Bodhisattva that he fell to the ground in a swoon. When he regained his senses, the Bodhisattva asked him which of the various scripts he was going to be taught, viz., Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī or Puṣkarasārī or Aṅga or Vaṅga or Magadha or Śakārī or Brahmāvartī or Drāviḍī or Kinnarī or Dakṣiṇa or Ugra or Darada or Khasa or Cīna or Hūṇa. The teacher became non-plussed and stood dumb-founded. Then the boys accompanying him began to learn the alphabets which by his influence sounded thus—

अ = अनित्य   आ = आत्मपरहित
इ = इन्द्रियवैपुल्य   ई = ईतिबहुल जगत्
उ = उपद्रवबहुल जगत्   ऊ = ऊन सत्त्व
ए = एषणा समुत्थानदोष   ऐ = ऐरपथः श्रेयान्
ओ = ओंघोत्तर   औ = औपपादुक etc.

When the Bodhisattva was a little grown up, he along with his friends went out to a village to see the ploughing of fields.[1] There he found a quiet place under a Jambu

[1] In the Pāli tradition, the occasion is described as the beginning of the ploughing season, which as a rule, was ceremoniously begun

tree. He sat down there cogitating on the hardships of worldly life and became absorbed in meditation, rising from the first to the fourth stage of meditation. At that time five ascetics, having supernormal powers, were flying through the air. Their progress was suddenly arrested when they were about to cross over the Jambu tree. They felt surprised, and on looking down, found that the Great Being was seated there in meditation. They came down to the earth and adored him with suitable words. While looking for his son, the king reached the place to find him immersed in meditation. He at once removed his royal insignia and saluted him with folded hands.

Siddhārtha's marriage

When the Bodhisattva became a youth, the Śākyans met together and suggested to the king that he should get his son married. Though the Bodhisattva was averse to all sorts of wordly ties, he however agreed to marry a girl as a means of expedient to convince the common man that one immersed in worldly pleasures could rise above them like a lotus growing in mud and rising above water. He ascertained that the previous Bodhisattvas also contracted marriages, so he set out the qualities which should be possessed by his bride. The royal priest went to different places, searching for a bride for the prince, and at last found out that the daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi was endowed with all the virtues and qualities required by the Bodhisattva. The king however preferred to give an opportunity

by the king putting his hand to the plough and thereby giving an auspicious start to the season. The prince accompanied the king.

to the Bodhisattva himself to select his own bride, and so he invited all marriageable Śākyan maidens to his palace to take from the hands of the Bodhisattva presents of flowers made of costly metals. On the seventh day of the announcement the maidens congregated in the palace and were all dazzled by the beauty and glory of the Bodhisattva. It was only Gopā, daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi, who could withstand the glory, kept herself at a distance gazing at the prince. When her turn came to meet the prince she advanced towards him quietly and received not only the best of the flowers but also the very costly finger-ring of the prince. It was evident to all present that the choice of the prince fell on Gopā and this was noticed by the king's secret emissaries who hurried to the king to give the news.

King Śuddhodana thereupon sent the marriage proposal of his son to Daṇḍapāṇi, who hesitated and enquired about the attainments and capabilities of the prince, who had grown up amidst luxuries in the royal palace. The king felt a bit disheartened as he apprehended that Daṇḍapāṇi's doubts about the prince's abilities might have some basis. Finding the king a little dejected, the prince informed the king to his great relief, that he would be able to compete with any body in any arts and crafts, martial exploits and exhibition of physical prowess. He requested the king to arrange a display of skill by all the Śākyan youths. The king readily assented and made all the necessary arrangements for a display and invited all the Śākyan youths to take part in it. The arrangements included among other items the following : (i) throwing

the carcass of an elephant to the farthest distance ; (ii) showing knowledge of scripts, for competition in which the teacher Viśvāmitra was the judge, (iii) skill and accuracy in arithmetical calculations, for testing in which the accountant Arjuna was the judge, (iv) shooting arrows (for which the prince took up the unwieldy bow of his forefather Simhahanu), (v) wrestling, (vi) accomplishment in fine arts, such as music, dancing, singing, (vii) composing books and poems, (viii) knowledge of astrological and other sciences and (ix) erudition in Brāhmanical literature, logic, philosophy, economics and politics.

The winner in all these contests was promised the hands of Gopā, who holding the banner of victory watched the contests. Devadatta, Sundarananda and several others vied with one another but they were all surpassed by the prince. Even Arjuna, the master-accountant, was overawed by the prince's power of calculations. As the prince came out victorious in all the contests, he was given the hands of Gopā (also called Yaśodharā) by her father Daṇḍapāṇi with the utmost pleasure.

With Yaśodharā the Bodhisattva enjoyed his family life for some time. The gods however became impatient at the delay made by the Bodhisattva in retiring from the world in order to achieve the highest goal. So they approached him reverently and reminded him of many of his past existences, in which he made extreme exertions and sacrifices for the good of beings, for the acquisition of merits, and for perfecting himself in the six *pāramitās*. They recalled his past resolutions to rescue the mortal

beings from birth, old age, disease and death. Though a Bodhisattva does not require any advice or guidance, the gods and apsarasas recited in his presence a few *gāthās* which dilated on the dreamlike fleeting existence of the world, on the earthly pleasures as a pot of filth or a lake full of serpents, on phenomenal objects which were as unsubstantial as the echo in a cave or the reflection of the moon in water or as actors on a stage. They continued reciting more *gāthās*, which signified that the constituted world was similar to the flame of a lamp to be blown out, and to a rope made out of certain causes and conditions such as *muñja* grass and human efforts, and to fire produced out of fire-wood, poker and human exertion, but without any trace of fire in them. They repeated the stanzas which bespoke of the repeated existences of a being as the ceaseless wheel or as the seed and sprout having no end or beginning. The *gāthās* harped on the theme that wordly existences are brought about by ignorance (avidyā) of the Truth but ignorance is not to be found in them just as an impression is caused by a seal but the seal is not found in the impression. Eyes see forms (*rūpa*) but the forms are not in the eyes. The constituted world is unreal (*śūnya*), momentary (*kṣaṇika*) and echo-like (*pratiśrutakopama*). It is beset with sufferings brought about by birth, old age, disease and death. The Bodhisattva was reminded again and again of the worthlessness of earthly pleasures and of the excellence of retirement from the home-life.

On the self-same night in which the gods and apsarasas were reciting the *gāthās*, King Śuddhodana dreamt that his son clad in yellow robes and surrounded by gods was

going to leave the palace. He got up from his bed and made anxious enquiries about the whereabouts of his son. On receiving the news that his son was sleeping in his apartments, his anxieties were allayed but he made lavish arrangements for the prince's enjoyments and guarded the palace by exceedingly heavy gates, which could only be opened and closed by hundreds of guards.

The four sights

The following morning, the Prince expressed his desire to go out to the forests and ordered his charioteer to make his chariot ready. The king, on being initimated about the prince's desire for excursion, asked the prince to wait for a week. During the seven days, the king asked his officers to take every precaution that the prince might not come across any unpleasant sight. When the city was decorated and made clean, the charioteer took out the prince in the royal chariot, and while passing through the city, the gods created an old man with shrivelled skin and grey hairs, toothless and hunchbacked, resting on a stick and placed him in the sight of the prince and the charioteer only. The prince enquired of the charioteer about the man and learnt that every human being must one day reach that stage. He was very much moved at the sight and returned to the palace. On enquiry of the king about the prince's sudden return the charioteer informed him about the old man and the effect of its sight on the prince's mind. The king took further precautions but, alas ! on the second day of his excursion, the prince and the charioteer saw a man suffering from fever, breathing heavily and grovelling in his own urine and excrements. Like the previous day the prince

learnt the actual state of things from the charioteer and returned to the palace. On the third day, the prince and the charioteer came across a dead man carried on a bier to the cemetery, with his relatives crying and lamenting. The prince likewise became aware of the fact that every human being was subject to death and lost his desire to go out on excursion. On the fourth day they saw a yellow robed person of quiet demeanour with full control over his senses, walking with steady steps and carrying a bowl in his hands. The prince on enquiry learnt from the charioteer that the person had given up his home life and become a recluse, seeking release from the cycles of existences. The prince's heart was elated at the thought that he would also become a recluse and find the way to deliverance. He felt happy and enjoyed himself to his heart's content in the garden. When he was thus disporting himself in the pleasure garden, the king's messengers brought him the news of the birth of his son. On getting the news he did not feel very happy and apprehended that it might cause hindrance to his intention to retire from worldly life, and so he uttered 'Rāhulo jāto' (a hindrance has arisen). The king hearing what the prince had uttered named the baby as Rāhula. On his way back to the palace, attired as he was in rich and luxurious royal dress, he was seen by a distant relative of his called Kṛśā Gautamī, who uttered the stanza :

"Nibbutā nuna sā mātā
Nibbuto nuna so pitā
Nibbutā nuna sā nārī
Yassa 'yaṁ idiso pati"

[Happy indeed is the mother who has such a son, so also happy is his father. Happy also is that woman who has got such a husband.]

The word '*nibbuta*' struck the prince and he understood it in the sense of serenity and quietude. He was so pleased with the word that he took out his collar of jewels and sent it as a present to Kṛśā Gautamī, who however took it as an indication of his fancy for her. The prince returned to the palace and was being entertained by several female musicians but his mind was elsewhere and he did not feel the least attraction for the entertainments.

The Bodhisattva thinking it improper that he should retire without his father's consent approached the king before dawn. Though the Sun had not yet arisen, the rays issuing forth from the prince's body made the night appear as day and took the king aback. The Bodhisattva asked for his permission to retire from worldly life but as the king protested against this intention of the prince, the prince said that he would not seek retirement if the king would just grant him four boons, viz., that he would not be subject to old age, disease, death and rebirth. Realising the absurdity of the demands of the prince, the king and Mahāprajāpati multiplied the guards and entertainers so that the prince could not, by any means, leave the palace. The gods, however, came down to nullify the efforts of the king and his men to obstruct the prince's retirement. The Bodhisattva also remembered his four former resolutions, viz., (i) to attain ominscience with a view to rescue beings from the worldly prison by rending asunder the chain of thirst, (ii) to emit light of knowledge which

would drive away the mist of ignorance enveloping the world and clear up the eyes of knowledge of worldly beings, (iii) to remove all misconceptions due to I-ness and Mine-ness, and (iv) to impart knowledge which would make patent that the endless cycles of existences were just a glow left by a wheel of fire (*alātacakra*).

As king Śuddhodana, being unable to give any reply to the prince, remained silent, the prince returned to his apartments and found that the female musicians were sleeping with dishevelled hairs, some gnawing their teeth, others foaming at the mouth with saliva trickling down, some muttering and some lying in unseemly postures. The prince felt that he was in a cemetery or among ogresses. The scene set him thinking about his own body, which, on introspection, appeared to him to be only a bag of filth. He then and there made up his mind to leave the palace in order to become a recluse. He called Chandaka, and asked him to get his favourite horse Kaṇṭhaka ready for his departure from the palace. He would not listen to the remonstrances and importunities of Chandaka, who wanted him to retire at an old age, and convinced him by cogent reasons of the necessity of his immediate retirement. He then left the palace on horse-back taking Chandaka with him.

He rode for the remaining portion of the night, crossed the territories of the Śākyas, Koliyas, Mallas and Maineyas and at dawn he got down from the horse-back. He gave away his royal jewelleries to Chandaka and asked him to go back with the horse to Kapilavastu. He cut the top

The Prince's retirement

knot of his hairs by his sword and threw it in the air when it was taken up to heavens by the Trāyastriṁśa gods. He wanted to give up his royal dress and was looking for a yellow robe when a god appeared before him in the form of a hunter wearinga yellow cloth. He exchanged his costly dress with the hunter's apparel and became a properly dressed anchorite. The gods felt happy to find the Bodhisattva becoming a full fledged recluse.

On the following morning at Kapilavastu, the ladies of the palace not finding the prince anywhere began to cry and lament loudly, drawing the attention of the king, who hurried to the spot and after anxious enquiries learnt that his son had left the palace. The hunter also was returning to Kapilavastu with the prince's dress and he was accosted by the people who apprehended that the prince was killed by the hunter. Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka also returned at the moment with the prince's jewelleries and disclosed to all what had taken place. The news of the prince's retirement plunged every body in grief, not to speak of Yaśodharā, King Śuddhodana and Mahāprajapati Gautamī.

While Chandaka consoled the ladies of the palace, the prince proceeded on foot in quest of the Truth. He was invited by two Brāhmaṇa female hermits and then by Raivata Brahmarṣi and Rajaka Tridaṇḍika to stay in their hermitages, but he politely declined their invitation, walked farther till he reached Vaiśāli where he stopped at the hermitage of Ārāḍa Kālāma. On enquiry about Ārāḍa Kālāma's attainments, he learnt that he had reached the seventh stage of meditation (*samāpatti*) called *Akiñcanyā-*

yatana (in which one's mind seeks nothing). He joined the band of his disciples whose number was then three hundred and within a short time by the applicaiotn of his strong will (*chanda*), energy (*vīrya*), self-recollectedness (*smṛti*), meditation (*samādhi*) and intellection (*prajñā*) he attained the seventh *samāpatti*. He was requested by Ārāḍa to stay on in his hermitage as a fellow teacher of his disciples but he declined saying that he was not satisfied w th the attainment, as it did not appear to him to be the final liberation. He left Vaiśālī and proceeded towards Rājagṛha, entering into the city by the gate near the hot spring. While on begging round, his glorious appearance and serene demeanour struck with awe and wonder the townspeople who hurried to the palace and gave the king the news of the arrival of a Great Being. On the following morning the king met him and offered a half share of his kingdom, which was politely declined by the Bodhisattva, who pointed out to him the evils of fleeting worldly pleasures. He then proceeded to the outskirts of Rājagṛha and stopped at the hermitage of Rudraka Rāmaputra. On enquiry he learnt that Rudraka could rise to the eighth stage of meditation (*samāpatti*), called *Naivasaṁjñanāsaṁjñāyatana*, in which the sense-perception is neither active nor dead. It was a stage higher than that reached by Ārāḍa Kālāma but was still an attainment confined to the constituted world (*saṁskṛta*) and lower than the transcendental (*lokottara*) leading to peace and rest, the end of misery, the ultimate Nirvāṇa. Impressed by his extraordinary ability in quickly attaining the *Naivasaṁjñānāsaṁjñāyatana* stage with slight exertion, five

Brāhmaṇa followers of Rudraka preferred to follow Gautama.

The Bodhisattva along with his five new companions went to Gayāśīrṣa Hill and found there many ascetics given to rigorous practices of self-mortification for spiritual elevation but he observed that they had not freed themselves wholly from worldly attachments. Inspite of their extreme asceticism they were far away from obtaining even the superhuman powers, not to speak of the true insight and knowledge. They were trying to produce fire out of wet woods. He realised that fire could only be produced out of dry woods, in other words, by one who had got rid of worldly attachment thoroughly, and as for himself this he had already done.

His ascetic practices

He then walked towards Uruvilva senāpati-grāma and was pleased with the sight of the river Nerañjarā with water almost overflowing the banks. While surveying the religious faiths of the people of the time, he found the wide prevalence of beliefs (i) in the efficacy of *mantras* and utterances of *Oṃkāra*, (ii) in the attainment of higher existences through worship not only of gods but also of trees, tanks, cemeteries and cross roads, supposed to be haunted by superhuman beings, (iii) in the realisation of *mukti* (liberation) by means of ascetic practices such as living like a dog or a cow, keeping long hairs and nails, covering the body with dust. There were also many who believed that the birth of a son would help them in their future existences. For educating the people, immersed

in such blind beliefs, the Bodhisattva decided to take to rigorous ascetic practices and these he practised for six long years. He exerted so strenously that sweat came out of his armpit even in extreme winter, his breath was arrested in such a way that he was occasionally taken by the people as dead. In order to enlighten those who believed in the efficacy of fasting, he lived on only one plum or one grain of corn for months, and thereby had for some time a ghostlike appearance. His body turned into a bare skeleton without any flesh or blood, and the bones were linked together barely by a chain of sinews. For not washing his body for a long time, a hard crust of earth formed around his body, and the golden colour of his body became dark black. Thus emaciated, one day in a swoon he fell down on the earth.

During the six years of Bodhisattva's asceticism, Māra was on the look out for laches in his ascetic practices but he failed to find any and so at last he appeared before the Bodhisattva and requested him to give up the arduous practices and take to rituals and sacrifices, which he said were also conducive to the attainment of higher states of existence.[1] The Bodhisattva took his advice at its worth and expressed his determination to attain perfect knowledge and go beyond the realm of Māra.

The Bodhisattva then realised that asceticism alone would not lead to perfect knowledge, and remembered his experience of trances at the Kṛṣigrāma (see above,

[1] Cf. Padhānasutta.

p. 50). He thereupon decided to change his line of practices by taking food and making his body strong.

At that time lived at Uruvelā, Sujātā, daughter of the landowner Senānī. When a son was born to her, she took the vow of making offerings to the god residing in the Nyagrodha tree. In the sixth year of the Great Being's ascetic life, she made a grand preparation for offering milk-rice to the tree-god on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha. While preparing the milk-rice, she noticed certain miraculous events and sent her maid-servant ahead to the tree. The Great Being, emitting rays of light, was then seated under the Nyagrodha tree. The maid-servant was struck by the sight and hurried to Sujātā to give her the news that the tree-god had descended from the tree and was seated underneath it to receive her offerings. Sujātā took a new golden vessel and poured the milk-rice into it. Then she adorned herself suitably and carried the vessel full of milk-rice on her head. She was delighted to see the god in flesh and blood, and offered him the bowl of milk-rice.[1] The Great Being accepted the

Sujātā's offer of milk-rice

[1] The tradition preserved in the *Lalitavistara* is a little different. It is as follows :—Sujātā was one of the devotees of the Great Being. She had been feeding the Brāhmaṇas with the hope that by their good wishes the Bodhisattva would succeed in his exertions to attain the goal.

Sujātā was then apprised by the gods to cook a little milk-rice for the Bodhisattva. She prepared the rice accordingly and offered in a golden bowl to the Bodhisattva who accepted it. After taking the milk-rice he threw away the bowl into the river. He took bath in the cool water of Nerañjarā and refreshed himself.

At that time Bodhisattva's loin-cloth was totally destroyed so

food, went to the river to take his bath and then took his food for the first time after a fast of fortynine days, during which period he had neither bath nor mouth-wash. After taking the food he threw the vessel into the river saying that if he was destined to attain *Bodhi*, the vessel would float and move against the current, and so it happened, the vessel floated against the current and was at last caught in a whirlpool and sank down to the abode of Kāla Nāgarāja.

His five Brāhmaṇa ascetic companions found that the Bodhisattva had failed to achieve the goal by arduous ascetic practices and now he wanted to do the same by partaking of food and leading an easy life. They were disappointed and left him in disgust and went to the deer-park near Banaras.

After refreshing himself with food and bath, the Bodhisattva proceeded with steady steps towards the Bodhi tree. The gods made the way nice and smooth, free from all gravels, thorns and other hard objects. Rays issued forth from the Bodhisattva's body, conferring happiness on all beings. The serpent king Kālika watched his footsteps while his queen Suvarṇaprabhāsa eulogized him with appropriate words. The Bodhisattva then came across a grass-cutter (Yāvasika) called Svastika and begged of him

he was looking for a fresh one. He found at a near by cemetery a piece of hempen cloth thrown away from a dead body. He picked it up and wanted to wash it. There being no tank at sight, the gods miraculously provided a tank and a stone, where he could wash the cloth.

some grass to prepare his seat for meditation. He then took his seat under the Bodhi tree with the unflinching resolution that his body might dry up, his flesh and bones might decay but he would not leave the seat without attaining *bodhi*. While he was thus seated for the attainment of final liberation he was watched by several Bodhisattvas who assembled there from the worlds of the six directions.

His fight with Māra

While taking his seat under the Bodhi tree, he felt that he should apprise the gods, dwelling in the Māra-sphere and possessing enough merits to attain Buddhahood in the long run, of his taking seat under the Bodhi tree to attain full enlightenment, and so he sent forth rays illumining the Māra worlds. These rays of his also touched his arch enemy, Māra, who saw many dreams of losing his realm. He woke up terrified and called his sons and military generals, who tried their best to dispel his fear by telling him that they possessed ample army and strength to defeat any army however strong they might be. At Māra's command, they created hideous forms of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kumbhāṇḍas, Uragas and Piśācas and armed them to the teeth. The sons took positions on the right and left of Māra. Thus arrayed with valiant soldiers Māra proceeded to attack the Bodhisattva. Māra and his whole army were frightened by the mere opening of the mouth of the Bodhisattva and they thought that they were being attacked by a sword when the Bodhisattva just passed his hand over his head. They began to pelt heavy missiles at him, but, alas ! they found that the missiles turned into flowers and remained hanging in the Bodhi tree. They

were then addressed by the Bodhisattva with the words that their lord Māra had no doubt attained many extraordinary powers by the performance of sacrifices, but he had also performed similar sacrifices, and over and above that he had given endless gifts, including his own limbs, not to speak of his wealth and property, and to bear evidence to the veracity of his statement, he pointed to the Mother Earth, which quaked again and again confirming the statement of the Bodhisattva.

Māra became very much disappointed and left the battle field to devise softer ways and means to divert the Bodhisattva from his determination to seek enlightenment. He asked his lovely daughters to exhibit all their feminine charms to entice him. They came in a body and made their utmost attempt by sweet words and alluring movements of limbs to seduce the great saint but all their efforts were of no avail. The Bodhisattva remained seated like a rock, unmoved and untouched. He at last smiled and explained to them the evil effects of sense-enjoyments, transient nature of worldly pleasures, lust as the cause of repeated existences, and the body as a storehouse of filth and dirt. His words fell on the deaf ears of Māra's daughters, who made further attempts to seduce him to earthly enjoyments but all their endeavours ended in a fiasco.

Failing to produce any effect on Bodhisattva's mind and resolution, Māra's daughters admitted their defeat and told their father that the Bodhisattva was completely devoid of attachment, hatred and delusion and that he could see through all the feminine wiles and was not in the

least affected by the same. They were convinced that no power on earth and heaven could defeat him and on the contrary he had the ability to rout Māra's army quite easily.[1]

The gods watched the fight of Māra with the Bodhisattva and stood all along by the latter's side. They praised him for his firmness and wisdom, and told Māra to desist from attacking such a Great Being. The Bodhisattva said that Māra was no doubt the lord of the Kāmadhātu (*Kāmeśvara*) but he was the lord of righteousness (*dharmeśvara*) and that he was much superior to Māra in every respect. After totally routing Māra's army, the Bodhisattva took his seat under the Bodhi tree with an incomparable firmness.

Attainment of Bodhi

The Bodhisattva then immersed himself in meditation rising gradually from the first (*savitarka-savicāra-vivekaja-pīti-sukha*) to the second (*avitarka-avicāra-samādhija-pīti-sukha*), from the second to the third (*upekṣaka-smṛtimān-sukhavihārī*) and from the third to the fourth (*aduhkhāsukha-upekṣā-smṛti-pariśuddhi*) (See p. 169). While in the fourth dhyāna he obtained, in the first watch of the night, the divine eyes and clear insight by which he could know the nature of all beings. In the second watch he developed the power of knowing a being's past existences and in the last watch of the night he realised that the last vestige of his impurities was totally extinct (*āsrava-kṣaya-jñāna*). At this stage he comprehended the truth that all that had origin must have

[1] The fight between Māra and Bodhisattva has been developed into a treatise. See Chapter II of the Mahasannipāta-Ratnaketu-dhāraṇī-sūtra in Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. IV.

decay, and while cogitating on this fact he discovered the law of causation (*pratītya-samutpāda*), in which ignorance of the truth (*avidyā*) formed the basic cause of all worldly sufferings. He then reflected on the law of causation in the reverse order and discerned that the removal of *avidyā* was the only means for reaching the goal, the ultimate. He then obtained an insight into the four truths : suffering (*duḥkha*), its origin (*samudaya*), its decay (*nirodha*) and the path to its decay (*mārga*).

He applied the fourfold truth to each of the twelve links of the chain of causation, e.g., *avidyā, saṃskāra, tṛṣṇā* etc., and found that each of the links had its origin and decay and there was a path to its decay. At dawn he visualised the highest Truth, the *Bodhi*, and thereby became the fully enlightened, the *Buddha* or *Prabuddha*. He realised the evanescent nature of phenomenal objects and at the same time the reality of the ultimate, the end of existence (*bhūtakoṭi*).

The gods in appreciation of his acquisition began to shower flowers and eulogised him in the highest terms.

Seven Weeks

After this unique achievement the Buddha, the Awakened, remained seated for one week under the Bodhi tree enjoying serene pleasure (*prītyāhāravyūha*) on the fulfilment of his mission, viz., putting an end to birth, old age, and death once for all. In the second week, Buddha took long strolls meditatively while in the third week he remained gazing at the Bodhi tree and musing over the way in which he had reached the Truth. In the fourth week he again had short strolls. It was in this week that he was approached by Māra

with the request that he should now enter into *parinirvāṇa* (final demise). Buddha could not oblige him and said that he could not comply with his wishes until and unless he had seen his disciples well trained in his teachings and the order of his monks well organised and well established. Māra became broken hearted and told his daughters that it was futile for him or for any body to entice one who had gone beyond attachment, hatred and delusion. The daughters agreed with him and approached the Teacher begging for his pardon for their wily attempts. The fifth week Buddha spent in the palace of Mucilinda, the serpent king, who stood guard on him by entwining his body and shading him from sun and rain by his hood. He passed from Mucilinda's palace to the Nyagrodha tree of the goatherd, who was then a god and passed the sixth week meditating under it. The seventh week Buddha passed under the Tārāyaṇa tree, when he met the two traders Trapusa and Bhallika passing from the southern to the northern countries. The two traders had a pair of bullocks, which were very strong and sturdy and could foresee any danger ahead on the way. The two bullocks leading the caravan stopped near Buddha and would not budge an inch. This led the traders to find out the cause of their sudden stoppage. It was at this moment that the traders were intimated by some gods, who were, in previous existences, their relatives about the presence of the Buddha in the neighbourhood and were also advised by them to offer honey and such other food to the great saint. They readily and most gladly acted according to their directions. As Buddha had no bowl to receive the offering, the four

divine guardians of the world hurried to the spot with four bowls of gold and jewels. He rejected all of them and took a bowl made of stone. Trapusa and Bhallika had the good luck of offering the first food to Buddha after his attainment of *Bodhi* and thereby becoming the first lay-devotees of the great Teacher.

During the seventh week when Buddha was stopping under the Tārāyaṇa tree, it occurred to him that the truth visualised by him was too deep and subtle to be comprehended by men of average intellect, further it was inexpressible in words, beyond disputation, quiescent by nature, unconstituted, end of all objective existence and extinction of attachment, hatred and delusion. It would be sheer waste of his energy if he would make an attempt to propagate the Truth. Mahābrahmā came to know of his thoughts and rushed to him and solicited him to preach the Truth. He pointed out that it could be comprehended by some beings who were spiritually advanced and whose intellect was much above the average. He further pointed out that Magadha was at that time full of wrong views, and unless the true doctrine was preached, the people would be more and more bewildered and led in the wrong path. Buddha then cast his divine eyes over the world and found that there were different types of beings, some of whom would be capable of comprehending his doctrine. He then tried to find out the best persons who would be able to derive benefit from his teachings. He first thought of Rudraka Rāmaputra and then of Ārāḍa Kālāma but as they were both dead at the time, he decided to preach the doctrines to the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics dwelling then

at the deerpark near Banaras. They appeared to him to be well advanced spiritually and capable of comprehending his teachings. He left Gayā and took the road to Banaras. On the way he met an Ājīvika ascetic, who was struck by his bright and serene appearance and wanted to know who was his teacher. Buddha replied that there was none equal to him, not to speak of a teacher of his, he was the fully enlightened.[1] After parting with the Ājīvika ascetic, he went northwards and reached the bank of the Ganges where he asked a ferry man to take him across but as he asked for fare, Buddha crossed the river through air. The ferryman felt very much aggrieved and so did king Bimbisāra and thenceforth the king ordered his ferrymen to carry all recluses without any fare. He then reached Banaras and had his usual begging round.

[1] *Majjhima*, I, p. 171 :
सब्बाभिभू सब्बविदू रहमस्मि
सब्बेसु धम्मेसु अनूपलित्तो ।
सब्बजहो तण्हक्खये विमुत्तो
सयमभिञ्ञाय कमुद्दिसेय्यम् ॥
न मे आचरियो अत्थि सदिसो मे न विज्जति ।
सदेवकस्मि लोकस्मि नत्थि मे पटिपुग्गलो ॥
अहं हि अरहा लोके अहं सत्था अनुत्तरो ।
एकोम्हि सम्मासम्बुद्धो सोतिभूतोस्मि निब्बुतो ॥
धम्मचक्कं पवत्तेतुं गच्छामि कासिनं पुरं ।
अन्धभूतस्मि लोकस्मि आहञ्ञं अमतदुन्दुभिं ॥

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONARY LIFE OF BUDDHA

BUDDHA'S missionary activities commenced at Sarnath. From the city of Banaras, Buddha proceeded to the Deerpark, called Isipatana (rendezvous of ascetics) to impart his teachings to his quondam companions, the five Brāhmaṇas. Seeing the Teacher coming towards them, the five ascetics took the pledge that they would not welcome their old friend, who failed to persist in rigorous asceticism. But as the Teacher advanced towards them, his majestic appearance so much overpowered them that they, forgetting their pledge, went forward to welcome him and showed all the due courtesies. They at first addressed him as a comrade (*āyuṣman*), which was objected to by Buddha, who advised them to look upon him as their Teacher and address him as such.

Realising that it would not be easy for him to convince all the five ascetics together of the truth discovered by him, Buddha directed two of them to go out to collect alms, while he gave exposition of his doctrines to the remaining three, who again were sent out for collecting alms on the following day and he imparted his instructions to the other two. He first explained to them that the life of ease as led by a householder as also the life of rigorous asceticism adopted by some ascetics were the two extremes which should be avoided and a middle path should be followed. The middle path consisted (i) of restraint in words, action and means of livelihood (*sammā vācā, kammanta* and *ājīva*),

(ii) of complete control over one's mind, i.e., by means of resolution and exertion to earn merit and discard demerit, and by meditation and self-recollectedness (*sammā saṅkappa, vāyāma, sati, samādhi*) and lastly (iii) of acquisition of perfect knowledge (*sammā-diṭṭhi*), i.e., realisation of the four truths and the twelvefold law of causation.

He then explained to them the four truths, of which the first is "unhappy is existence in this world," as it is always accompanied by repeated births, old age, disease and death. A being suffers also for not getting what he wants or for coming across persons or things which he wants to avoid, in other words, all the five constituents which form a being are associated with misery and suffering. The second truth is that "the cause of unhappiness or suffering is desire or thirst", which appears repeatedly and goes on increasing in a worldly man's life. The worst form of thirst is the strong desire of a being at the time of his death to be born again.

He expatiated on the second truth by supplementing it with an exposition of the law of Causation (*pratītya samutpāda*) thus : Thirst (*tṛṣṇā*) of the second truth originates out of feeling (*vedanā*), which is produced by the contact of the six sense-organs with their respective objects. The six sense-organs appear in a being after birth which is brought about by the karmaic effects (*saṁskāras*) left by one's previous existence when he was immersed in ignorance (*avidyā*) of the truth underlying the universe. It is the "thirst, specially, thirst for rebirth" that leads to repeated existences which are subject to old age, disease and death. Buddha harped on the theme

that thirst for rebirth (*bhava-tṛṣṇā*) is the cause of bringing together the five constituents to form a being. These constituents (*nāma-rūpa*) are impermanent and hence are not desirable objects and are the source of our sufferings. It is therefore indispensable that one should exert to get rid of the thirst and not depend on any other person or god to do it for him (*ā'maśaraṇonanyaśaraṇa*).

The third truth is "the cessation of unhappiness or suffering", which can be obtained by complete eradication of desire or thirst. The last and the fourth truth is that "the path and means for ending unhappiness and suffering" consists of the eightfold practices known as the middle path mentioned above (See infra, pp. 174 f.).

The above discourse and its exposition cleared up the vision of the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics. On the fifth day when all the five had got some insight into the teachings, Buddha delivered the *Anattalakkhaṇasutta,* in which he gave out the basic doctrine of his religion, viz., that there is no such entity as a self (*attā* = *ātman*) apart from the constituents (*skandhas*) of a being. The five constituents which form a being are material aggregates (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), impressions (*saṅkhārā*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*). In none of these five constituents separately, neither in all of them together, the self exists nor does it exist outside them. This discourse opened up the eyes of knowledge of all the five Brāhmaṇas, who then and there attained perfection (*arhathood*).

Very little is known about the personal histories of the first five converts. The only information that can be gathered from the traditions is as follows—

(1) *Aññāta-Koṇḍañña* or Ājñāta Kauṇḍiṇya. He came of a rich Brāhmaṇa family of Droṇavastu, near Kapilavastu. He studied the Vedas and other Brāhmanical *śāstras*. He was one of the Brāhmaṇas invited by King Śuddhodana to ascertain the future of Prince Siddhārtha. He was the oldest of the five Brāhmaṇas, who practised asceticism with the Bodhisattva and was the first disciple to comprehend Buddha's teachings. He was praised as the chief of the long standing devotees of Buddha. After attaining *arhathood,* he retired to a forest with the permission of the Teacher. It is said that he was served there by the elephants of the forest.

(2) *Bhaddiya* was the second Brāhmaṇa, who comprehended Buddha's teachings.

(3) *Vappa* belonged to the Vāseṭṭha family of Kapilavastu. He became a *sotāpanna* on the second day of Buddha's visit to Ṛṣipattana.

(4-5) *Mahānāma* and *Assaji* were the two juniors among the five Brāhmaṇas and they were also the last two persons to derive benefit from the teachings. Mahānāma made a very good impression on Citta-gahapati and received from him the gift of Ambaṭakavana, while Assaji became famous for attracting Sāriputta to Buddhism by uttering the verse "*ye dhammā hetuppabhavā, etc.*" (see infra, p. 83).

After converting the five Brāhmaṇas, Buddha stayed on for some time at Ṛṣipattana, when very probably Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Nālaka and Sabhiya, who were all recluses and contemporaries of Buddha, expressed appreciation of Buddha's teachings without, however, becoming monks

Pūrṇa, Nālaka and Sabhiya

though the *Mahāvastu* states that they were ordained by Buddha with the formula "Ehi Bhikṣu." These three recluses no doubt joined the Buddhist order a little later in the first or second year of Buddha's ministry and became distinguished monks. Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra is found to have given instructions to Ānanda (S. iii, 105) soon after his ordination.

Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra was the son of a rich Brāhmaṇa of Droṇavastu (in Kosala) near Kapilavastu. He left his home on the day of Prince Siddhārtha's retirement. He went to the Himalayas and became an ascetic perfecting himself in meditational practices. He had 29 ascetic disciples, all proficient in the Vedāṅgas. He apprised his disciples of the advent of Gautama Buddha and of the delivery of his first discourse at Banaras. All the thirty ascetics went to Banaras and sought ordination, which was given by Buddha. In the Pāli texts it is stated that Pūrṇa was the sister's son of Aññāta Koṇḍañña, who gave him the ordination at Kapilavastu, soon after Bhagavā's departure from Banaras and that Puṇṇa met Buddha for the first time at Sāvatthī. Puṇṇa became an arhat. He was very learned and removed the doubts of many a monk including that of Sāriputta. He was complimented by Buddha as the chief of religious preachers (dhammakathikas).

Nālaka of Kātyāyana-gotra was the second son of the royal priest of the king of Avantī. His maternal uncle was Asita Ṛṣi, who dwelt at the Vindhya Hills. He taught all the *śāstras* to Nālaka's elder brother Uttara, who became a teacher at Markaṭa in Avantī. Nālaka learnt in a short time all the *śāstras* and went to the Vindhya Hills and became an

ascetic-disciple of Ṛṣi Asita. When Buddha was staying at Banaras after delivering the first discourse, Nālaka went there according to the instructions of Ṛṣi Asita and sought ordination from the Teacher, who complied with his wishes readily.

The above episode appears in the Nālakasutta of the *Suttanipāta* and it is said that the Nālakasutta was delivered seven days after the *Dhamma-cakkappavattana sutta*. The only point to be considered is that in the Pāli tradition Nālaka is not identified with Mahākātyāyana as has been done in the *Mahāvastu*.[1]

Sabhiya was the son of a famous female dialectician of the South. He was given education in arts and sciences and specially in dialectics and the literature of the Parivrājakas. While roaming all over the sixteen countries (*janapadas*) as a wanderer (*Parivrājaka*), he reached Banaras and there entered into a discussion with Buddha, and was much impressed with the answers given by him to his queries. He was given ordination then and there. The above story appears in Pāli texts (*Suttanipāta*) as well, but the meeting of Sabhiya and Buddha is placed at Veluvana.

When Buddha was staying at Ṛṣipattana, there lived in the city of Banaras a very rich merchant's son called

[1] In the *Mahāvastu* (III, p. 377 ff.) and *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* (Romantic Legend, etc., pp. 274 ff.) the conversions of Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Nālaka, nephew of Asita Ṛṣi, and Sabhiya, the son of a famous female disputant are introduced before the conversion of Yaśa, the Śreṣṭhiputra.

Yaśa or Yaśoda. He had three palaces suited to the three seasons of the year and remained always surrounded by female musicians and immersed in luxuries and enjoyments. One midnight he awoke and found his female musicians sleeping in ugly postures as did Prince Siddhārtha see on the night of his retirement. He walked out of the palace and was strolling in the open air near the river bank exclaiming aloud "*uppadutaṁ vo uppasaṭṭhaṁ vo*" (I am in trouble, I am in distress). This was overheard by Buddha who was then sitting on the bank of the river *Varuṇā* and who found that Yaśa had accumulated so much merits in his past existences that he was to attain emancipation in this life. Buddha asked him to come near and delivered to him first the discourse on the merit of gifts, observance of precepts, means of attaining heavenly existences and evils of enjoying worldly pleasures (*dānakathaṁ sīlakathaṁ saggakathaṁ kāmānam ādīnavaṁ saṁkilesaṁ*). When he found that the discourse had the desired effect of softening his mind and making him fit to receive higher spiritual instructions, he imparted to him the mysteries of the four truths which included the law of causation. Then and there Yaśa's eyes of insight and knowledge became clear and he attained complete liberation along with miraculous powers.

Yaśa

Yaśa's parents, not finding their son in the palace, went out in search of him and reached the place where Buddha was staying and enquired of him if he had seen their son. Buddha at first screened Yaśa from their sight by a miracle and delivered to them his discourse on the merit of gifts, observance of precepts, etc. When their

mind became soft and pliable he removed the mysterious veil and let them see Yaśa seated there. They were happy to find their beloved son but felt sorry to find him bent upon becoming a recluse. But when they realised that their son had attained great spiritual merits, they became reconciled to their fortune or misfortune of parting with their son. They however became lay devotees of the Teacher.

Hearing that Yaśa had become a monk and a disciple of Buddha, his four friends, all belonging to Śreṣṭhī families, viz., Vimala, Subāhu, Pūrṇa (Puṇṇaji) and Gavāmpati and fifty others joined the order of monks. Of these four,

Gavāmpati

Gavāmpati became a renowned monk possessed of miraculous powers (*ṛiddhi*), and ultimately attained *arhathood.* He dwelt at Añjanavana in Sāketa. At Sahajāti (Cedi country) he delivered a discourse on the four truths, which he claimed to have heard directly from the Teacher. He was very old at the time of the session of the First Council and kept himself aloof from its deliberations. He had as his close friend Pūrṇa, who might be Puṇṇa or Puṇṇaji mentioned above. In the Sarvāstivāda tradition, it is said that Gavāmpati was very ill at the time of the Council and died soon after and Pūrṇa performed his obsequies.[1]

Buddha's group of disciples now reached the figure fiftynine, who were all free from bondage, human and divine. The Teacher praised them for attaining full emancipation and asked them to wander forth in different

[1] Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 149.

directions, no two persons taking the same way, for the benefit and happiness of many, men and gods, and to preach his doctrines which had an excellent beginning, middle and end and to instruct the people to become true and pure *brahmacārins*. He believed that there were beings, who had spiritual advancement but needed a little more instruction to attain perfection. It is for them particularly he started his missionary organization. As for himself he said that he was going to Gayāśīrṣa to preach the Truth.[1] On his way he came across thirty youths of respectable families enjoying their time with their wives in the forest. One of the youths had a hired girl-friend, who slipped away with some of the valuables of the party. When looking for this woman they came across Buddha and enquired of him if he had seen any woman. They were told by the Teacher to seek their own self and not the woman. This instruction brought sudden change in their minds and they became disciples of Buddha.

Kāśyapas

He reached Gayāśīrṣa and wanted to convert the great ascetics, the Brahmarṣis and Rājarṣis, dwelling there. He first went to the sacrificial hall of the Jaṭila Kāśyapas and asked for permission to stay in their hermitage. The Jaṭilas pleaded want of space and pointed out to him the place for sacrificial fire as the only spot which was available, but warned him saying that there dwelt a highly venemous serpent (*nāga*). Buddha accepted the offer and stayed there passing the whole night in deep meditation. He was enveloped by the poisonous gas emitted by

[1] *Vinaya*, I, p. 21.

the serpent, which however on finding him serene, quiet and unmoved in the least, became mild, bent down its hood worshipping him. In the morning the Kāśyapas, who pitied Buddha for his unfortunate choice of the place for rest, were taken aback when they saw the teacher not only hale and hearty but carrying the serpent in his bowl. After exhibiting some other miraculous powers of his, Buddha overawed the Kāśyapas and made them his disciples. He delivered to them the sermon (*Ādittapariyāyasutta*), in which he explained that the real fire consisted of attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), and that the same was produced by sense-perceptions caused by the contact of sense-organs with their objects. This fire was the source of our sorrows due to birth, old age and death. The only means to get out of this fire was to keep oneself unaffected by sense-perceptions and unconcerned about the sense-organs and their objects, and it is by such dissociation, indifference and equanimity that one could emancipate their mind and develop insight leading to final liberation.[1]

On listening to this discourse Uruvilva Kāśyapa realised what the real fire was and gave up his belief in the efficacy of maintaining sacrificial fire. He appreciated the discourse and acknowledged Buddha's greatness and admitted his own inferiority to Buddha in knowledge and superhuman powers. He became his disciple and threw away in the flowing stream his clothes and sacrificial utensils. Nadī Kāśyapa and Gayā Kāśyapa, his two brothers, who lived down the stream became frightened to see their

[1] *Vinaya*, I, pp. 34-35.

elder's belongings carried by the river and went quickly to him, and to their great astonishment found him dressed in the robe of a Buddhist monk. They also listened to the 'Fire Sermon' and followed the steps of their elder.

Then Bhagavān proceeded along with his disciples including the new Jaṭila converts to the Yaṣṭivana (Laṭṭhivana) of king Bimbisāra and was received by the king with great veneration. The king as well as his retinue were surprised to see the great Jaṭila ascetic, revered by them, sitting along with the disciples of Buddha and felt a bit perplexed to ascertain whether the Buddha or the Jaṭlia ascetic was the leader of the congregation. In order to remove their doubts, the Jaṭila ascetic declared that he had realised that his fire-worship and self-mortifications were of no avail for putting an end to desires and arresting the course of repeated births and so he had become a disciple of Buddha seeking Nirvāṇa. At the request of Buddha the Jaṭila-ascetic showed to the assembly the great supernormal powers acquired by him and convinced the people by his acquisitions the incomparability of Buddha's knowledge and powers.

King Bimbisāra

When the people's minds became soft and pliable and full of adoration, the Teacher delivered to them a discourse on the non-existence of soul or I-ness, and on impermanence of worldly objects. He disproved the existence of a permanent self by arguing that why should such a self—the lord and master—would subject itself to worldly .miseries and why should there be any necessity of removing the notion of I-ness regarded as the cause of birth and death and as a hindrance to final

liberation (*mukti*). Hence there could be no doer, no knower, no lord and no self as such. He then explained that the sense-organs and their contact with objects produced sense-perceptions. These in their turn engendered the seed of lust. From the seed shot forth a sprout which was not the same, nor different from the seed. This is the truth. The king on hearing this discourse was filled with joy and gained insight into the Truth.

The king then entreated Buddha to reside at his garden Veluvana, to which the Teacher agreed. Here he decided to preach his doctrines, train up his disciples and thus establish his religion,

Bhagavān Buddha dwelt at Veluvana for some time and recruited a few more disciples, of whom the most distinguished were Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who were originally followers of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta.

Śāriputra

The story of their conversion is given as follows : One day Aśvajit (Assaji) and Vāspa (Vappa) two disciples of Buddha entered into the town of Rājagṛha in their begging round with minds well-composed and sense-organs well-controlled. Their ways and manners, full of grace and dignity, charmed Śāriputra, otherwise known as Upatiṣya, a distinguished learned son of Brāhmaṇa parents, who were both past-masters in the art of disputation. On Śāriputra's asking Aśvajit as to who was his teacher, he replied that his teacher was the omniscient saint born of the Ikṣvāku family, the highest among men and gods. When Śāriputra enquired about the doctrine of the Teacher, he replied that he was just initiated into the doctrine and had not yet grasped it

thoroughly, deep and subtle as it was. All that he could do was to reproduce a stanza which contained his teachings. He recited, therefore, the following couplet :—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुस्तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।
तेषां च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥

[The Tathāgata has explained the cause of all objects which are produced by causes. (How to attain) their cessation is the doctrine of the great saint.]

Śārīputra, who was already spiritually advanced, realised its true import and appreciated its logic. He became at once convinced that there was no Īśvara nor any permanent self and that all worldly objects were mere products of causes and conditions and that the seed of worldly objects which caused sufferings must be destroyed to attain eternal happiness.

Maudgalyāyana

Śārīputra had a friend called Maudgalyāyana, who was equally advanced in spiritual exercises. The two friends parted one day to find out a teacher who could impart the truth and promised each other that one would divulge to the other the truth and its seer as soon as either of them came across any. Śārīputra therefore wended his way towards the abode of Maudgalyāyana and communicated to him what he had discovered. Maudgalyāyana also penetrated into the Truth and gained the eyes of wisdom. Their quick realisation of the Truth was no doubt due to their past accumulation of merits, which ripened their knowledge and brought their impurities almost to an end.

The two friends then decided to give up their quondam teacher, Sañjaya, and to join the Buddhist order

of disciples. They were followed by the remaining two hundred and fifty disciples of Sañjaya. Buddha, seeing them from a distance, declared with Brahmā's voice that the couple of friends coming to him were going to be his chief disciples and when they came near, he welcomed them. Then and there, their dress, triple staff, water-pot and matted hair disappeared and they became shaven-headed monks with yellow robes. Both of them attained *arhathood*. Then they, along with their 250 companions, saluted Buddha with great veneration and took their seat on one side of the assemblage of monks.

Mahākāśyapa

Soon after this event when Buddha was staying at Bahuputraka-caitya between Rājagṛha and Nālandā there came to him a Brāhmaṇa sage called Kāśyapa Agnidatta (Pāli: Pipphali-māṇava) who was once a very rich householder of Rājgṛha, having a very beautiful wife. He gave up all his possessions and became a recluse along with his wife Bhadrā Kāpileyā (Pāli: Bhaddā Kapilānī). Kāśyapa when young was disinclined to marry but on the insistence of his parents he agreed, provided a girl could be found having the likeness of a beautiful golden image wrought at his direction. A rich Brāhmaṇa girl having likeness to the image was discovered at Sāgala. She was also of a retiring disposition. Their marriage was celebrated, but the husband and wife agreed that they would not touch each other. After the death of Kāśyapa's parents, they retired and went to different directions. As a Brāhmanical sage, he was perplexed with doubts about the identity and difference of body and soul, while his wife

joined a heretical order. He was looking for a teacher who could dispel his doubts and was impressed by the serene and dignified appearance of Śākyamuni, and approached him with great veneration and sought his help for the solution of his doubts. Buddha also found in him a fit and proper person having all the qualities needed to become his true disciple. He welcomed him and imparted to him the fourfold instructions of right exertion (*samyak-prahāṇa*) which consisted of removing (i) the existing demerits and (ii) arresting their future growth, (iii) maintaining the existing merits and (iv) increasing the same as much as possible. He delivered to him further discourses on the importance of observance of disciplinary rules, on control of sense-organs and sense-perceptions, on non-grasping the characteristics of phenomenal objects and lastly on the four truths. He discarded his old faith about the existence of body and soul and was convinced that sorrows of human life could be removed by suitable disciplinary practices. He realised at the same time that the disciplinary practices should not be regarded as the cause for the removal of sorrows. He appreciated the importance of the teaching of ten Kuśalas[1] and ten Akuśalas. He got rid of the three impurities (*āsravas*)[2] as also of attachment, hatred and delusion, and attained *arhathood*. He acquired the *brahmavihāras*[3] of love and compassion, altruis-

[1] The ten Kuśalas are—abstention from killing, stealing, misconduct, from falsehood, roughness in talks, slandering and incoherent talks, from greed, hatred and wrong views.

[2] *Kāma, bhava, avidyā.*

[3] *Maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā.* See p. 159.

tic joy, and equanimity and did not seek existence in the Arūpa-Brahmaloka, to which he was entitled. In the Pāli tradition much importance is attached to the exchange of robes made by Buddha with Mahākāśyapa. It is said that one day Buddha was going to sit on the hard ground under a tree when Mahākāśyapa folded his soft cotton robe and laid it on the ground making a cushioned seat for Buddha, who liked its soft feel and at Kāśyapa's request agreed to exchange his rough *śāṇa* robe with the cotton robe of Kāśyapa. He was complimented by the Teacher as the chief of the ascetic monks (*dhūtavādas*). Kāśyapa's wife, Bhaddā Kapilānī, also came to Rājagṛha and stayed in a hermitage of the heretics. She could not join the Buddhist order, as till then Buddha did not sanction the formation of the order of nuns. It was sometime after the sanction, that she was ordained as a nun by Mahāprajāpati Gautamī and in due course attained *arhathood*. She was complimented by the Teacher as the foremost of nuns who could remember their former existences.

Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu

When Buddha was staying at Rājagṛha, king Śuddhodana deputed his chief priest's son Udāyī, who was born on the same day as Prince Siddhārtha along with Chandaka and other officers, to invite the Teacher to Kapilavastu. Udāyī and his companions went to Buddha and, after listening to his teachings, developed faith and in due course with proper exertions, attained *arhathood*. They communicated to him the wishes of the king. The invitation was accepted by Buddha, who took

sixty days to walk on foot the sixty leagues from Rājagṛha to Kapilavastu, where he stopped at the Nyagrodha hill, not far from the city. It was the second year of Buddha's ministry.

The king with a large retinue proceeded towards the Nyagrodha hill to give a fitting reception to the prince, now a recluse. As he approached the Hill, his heart throbbed with joy in expectation of seeing his dear son after long separation and was struck with wonder when he saw him seated amidst yellow robed monks with a divine halo around his face. The exuberance of his joy was however damped by the calm and motionless demeanour of his son, who remained seated there with a heart estranged and bereft of any feeling of affection or joy at the reunion of the father and the son. The father went near him like a thirsty man seeking water placed before him but unable to drink it. He was then thinking within himself what a great son he had, endowed with all the auspicious signs which prognosticated his sovereignty over the whole of Jambūdvīpa, but alas! he was now living on alms collected from door to door. Bhagavān could easily read his thoughts and then in order to convince his father that he was far greater than a sovereign ruler, he rose up in the sky and walked there to and fro as if on solid land, then he dived deep into the earth as if he was entering into the river water. The exhibition of miracles produced the desired effect on the mind of the King and the Śākyans accompanying him.

When the king's mind was filled with joy and became respectful towards his son, Bhagavān took his seat on a

lotus throne hovering in the air, and imparted instructions to the king. He first admonished him to discard his extreme affection for his son, as it added grief to grief and then pointed out to him that a person's grief or happiness depended on his acts of body, speech and mind. The pleasures of a Cakravartin or of a heavenly ruler, he said, were also inconstant and fraught with danger and distress like a poisonous snake, or like a burning flame, and it is for this reason that a wise man eschewed such pleasures and sought a haven of rest and peace, which needed no army or weapons, horses or elephants for protection. After listening to the discourses, the king's mind changed and he realised that his son had reached a state which was much higher than that of a Cakravartin. He then paid his respects to Bhagavān and his Saṅgha.

On the following day, Bhagavān entered into the city in the forenoon on his begging round, when all the citizens of Kapilavastu specially the women-folk flocked to their respective doors and windows to have a look at the divine appearance of the prince walking with a dignified gait but with eyes fixed on the earth. They were all charmed by the glory and sublimity of the great Recluse, though they felt sorry that a prince who should have moved in richly decorated chariots under a canopy of rare and beautiful feathers should walk on foot in dusty streets under the burning sun holding an almsbowl in his hands. The most aggrieved was Rāhula's mother Yaśodharā, who hurried to the king to protest against his son's choice of seeking food from door to door. The king made an attempt to dissuade the Teacher to desist from begging his food but failed to pro-

duce any effect on his unswerving resolution to accept whatever alms were offered by the rich and the poor, the high and the low and to live on the same.

Bhagavān delivered many religious discourses which made king Śuddhodana and queen Mahāprajāpati his faithful devotees.

Yaśodharā

When all the Śākyans, men and women, offered their homage to Buddha, Yaśodharā did not come out of her apartment. Buddha accompanied by his two chief disciples went to her after he learnt from King Śuddhodana that since he had left home she had been leading an austere life putting on a piece of yellow cloth and taking one meal a day. Buddha by way of complimenting her recounted the story of her love and regard for the Bodhisattva in one of her past existences. When Buddha left her apartment, Yaśodharā asked Rāhula to follow his father and demand his heritage. Rāhula followed his father up to the hermitage where he was ordained by Śāriputra at the direction of the Teacher, After Mahāprajāpati had formed the order of nuns, Yaśodharā also became a bhikṣuṇī and attained the six higher powers (*abhijñā*).

The king's regard for Buddha made the Śākyans also very respectful to him and some youths of distinguished Śākyan families wanted to become his disciples and to join the Order. Among them were Ānanda, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Kimbila, Nanda and Devadatta. Udāyī, son of the royal priest, had already become a monk and an *arhat*. Chandaka and Upāli followed the Śākyan nobles and joined the order of monks. Ordination of all of them

was performed by Buddha himself at the Anupiya grove. Rāhula the only son of the prince was made a novice (śramaṇa).

Ānanda

Ānanda was the son of Amitodana, brother of king Śuddhodana. He received instructions from Puṇṇa Mantānīputta and became a *srotāpanna*. In the twentieth year of Buddha's ministry he was selected by the Teacher as his regular attendant and for twentyfive years he catered to all the needs of the Teacher. Before Ānanda, Upavāna looked after the Teacher.[1]

Anuruddha

Anuruddha was the son of Droṇodana, another brother of Śuddhodana. He soon acquired the divine vision (*divyacakṣu*). He was given training by Śārīputra in meditational exercises and attained *arhathood* with Buddha's help. He was almost a constant companion of the Teacher. He was complimented by Buddha as the chief of those who obtained divine eyes.

Bhaddiya

Bhaddiya belonged to an old aristocratic Śākyan family and was a close friend of Anuruddha. It was at his intercession and promise that he would accompany Anuruddha, that Anuruddha's mother permitted her son to join the order. Bhaddiya became *arhat* within a few months of his ordination.

Nanda

Nanda was the son of King Śuddhodana and Mahāprajāpati. His coronation and marriage were fixed on the third day of the visit of Buddha to Kapilavastu. Buddha visited his house for alms and

1 *Saṁyutta*, II, p. 41.

when the bowl was filled by Prince Nanda, he did not take it in his hand and the Prince also out of reverence could not ask him to carry it, so Nanda had to follow Buddha with the almsbowl to the monastery, where Buddha admonished him to give up his household life and to become a recluse. Prince Nanda was very much enamoured of his betrothed Janapadakalyāṇī and was not willing to become a monk. In order to bring a change in his mind and to prove the evanescence of earthly life, Buddha created some nymphs, whose beauty far surpassed that of Janapadakalyāṇī and promised to give him one, if he would become a monk and take to exertion according to his directions. Prince Nanda agreed and in course of time by striving hard he got over his weakness for home-life and attained *arhathood.*

Devadatta was the son of the Koliyan Suppabuddha (maternal uncle of the Teacher) and brother of Yaśodharā.

Devadatta

Soon after his ordination he attained some miraculous powers by which he could obtain the support of king Ajātaśatru. In the 37th year of Buddha's ministry he grew jealous of Buddha's glory and became his enemy.

Upāli, the repository of Vinaya rules and one of the most eminent disciples of Buddha, belonged to a barber's family of

Upāli

Kapilavastu. He accompanied the Śākyan youths to the Anupiya grove and was given all the ornaments discarded by the youths at the time of their ordination. He hesitated to take them and decided to become a monk. He was first ordained by the Teacher himself in order to humble the pride of birth of the Śākyan nobles, who had to salute him being senior to them as a

monk. He was complimented by Buddha as the chief of the Vinaya masters. He taught Vinaya to the monks even in Buddha's life-time and was looked upon as the best authority on disciplinary rules and their interpretation.

Chandaka

Chandaka was the attendant and charioteer of Prince Siddhārtha. He also joined the order when Buddha paid his first visit to Kapilavastu.

Rāhula

Rāhula was made a novice (*śramaṇa*) when he was only seven years old. He was kept under constant watch by Buddha himself as also by his chief disciples. It is said that once in order to observe the rule that fully ordained monks should not sleep at the same hall with the novices, Rāhula passed one night in the compound of the privy used by Buddha. At dawn when Buddha found him sleeping there, he was annoyed and directed his teachers, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, to look after the bare necessaries of life of a novice.[1] Rāhula, as a rule, avoided special favours shown to him by the monks. When he reached the eighteenth year, he was given higher training and in course of time he attained *arhathood*.[2] He was complimented by the Teacher as the best of trainees.

Anāthapiṇḍika

After his return from Kapilavastu while Buddha was staying at Sītavana, the cemetery on the outskirt of Rājagṛha, a fabulously rich banker of Kosala, called Sudatta, came to Rājagṛha and stayed at the house of his friend, a banker of Magadha. He came to know that the renowned Teacher Śākyamuni

[1] *Jataka, no.* 16.

[2] Vide Rāhulovādasutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.

was staying at Sītavana. He had an awe and reverence for the Teacher and became very anxious to meet him. He went at night to the Teacher who addressed him by calling out his name, and said that it was good of him that he could overcome his sleep and come to him to listen to his religious discourses.

Buddha told him that all his riches, fame and his faith and reverence for Buddha and his teachings were all due to his past meritorious deeds. He was going to give him instructions on *śīla* (moral virtues) and *tyāga* (sacrifice) which, however, would just lead him to a heavenly existence, not free from sorrow. He therefore advised him to attain that state in which there would be no more sorrow due to birth, old age, disease and death by realising that the worldly phenomena were without any permanent substance and were just composites of some evanescent elements and qualities. He argued that the belief about the existence of Īśvara, the omnipotent, the Creator of the world was illogical, because in that case the beings created by Īśvara would not have been subject to sufferings, as a father would never want his sons to suffer. If Īśvara be the Creator, he must never cease to be a Creator and must continue his creation and not leave the phenomenal world to evolve out of itself. If all were the creations of Īśvara, there should not have been any distinction as good or evil acts and their effects. If all beings were one with him, then all acts of beings were his acts. Instead of Īśvara it may be argued that the law of nature (*svabhāva*) was the cause of phenomenal existence. This

argument also would not stand examination as an unintelligent cause could not produce an intelligent being, because the effect should not be totally different from the cause. Again, if everything was produced out of *svabhāva,* there was no necessity of seeking release from the same. There could not exist sorrow and happiness together. In the same way the argument that soul was the producer of the phenomenal world could be refuted. Soul could not be the maker of the world. Happiness and miseries are not self-existent, and why should 'soul' or 'self' produce miseries. It was one's deeds that produced miseries and happiness, and not his self. All existent things are not without some cause or other, as they are not issued out of nothing. In short, all objects must have a cause. On listening to these arguments, Anāthapiṇḍika's mind become pliable and perceived the excellence of Buddha's teachings. He then said that he was a resident of Śrāvastī, a peaceful land rich in produce, and the king of the country was noble and renowned, called Prasenajit of the family of Lion. He expressed his desire to build a monastery there for the use of Buddha. Though he knew that no such shelter was needed by him, still he would request him to accept it for the good of the residents of the city. His charity being untainted and unselfish impressed the Teacher, who said that wealth was inconstant and it was better that one should part with it and not be a niggard always fearing to lose the same. A charitable person was liked by all and his friendship was sought by the good and the gentle. He would have no fear nor repentance and never be born in a lower form of

existence and was destined to be reborn in the world of gods. He should banish all hatred, envy and anger and thus enjoy peace of mind and enter into meditation and acquire knowledge. Just as a man plants the sapling and thereby obtains the shade, flowers and fruits, so does a person's charity bring the reward of joy, beauty, ample food and clothes and ultimately Nirvāṇa. One of the best forms of charity is the erection of monasteries and such charity is doubly blessed.

Śāriputra was entrusted with the duty of choosing a suitable site at Śrāvastī. With him Anāthapiṇḍika went about to find out a pleasant site and spotted upon the garden of Prince Jeta. As the prince was very fond of his garden, he said that he could part with it if the buyer could cover it with gold coins. Anāthapiṇḍika rejoiced at the offer and began to unload on the garden cartloads of gold pieces. The prince said that he did not actually agree to sell the land and so the matter was taken to the law court. When the prince learnt that the land was intended for a monastery for Buddha and his disciples, he said that he would take half of the gold for the land only and the trees would remain his property. He was awe-inspired by hearing the name of Buddha and wanted to make a gift of the trees to him as his share of the offering. Then Anāthapiṇḍika offered the land and Prince Jeta the trees to Śāriputra on behalf of Buddha and his Saṅgha. Then under the supervision of Śāriputra, huge halls were erected by masons working day and night and these were so nice in architecture that they surpassed the beauty of royal palaces. The monastery became very

Jetavana

popular and made the streets of Śrāvastī shine with yellow robed monks.[1]

Buddha went to Śrāvastī from Kapilavastu. The city was decorated with flowers and fountains and birds flocked there to make the city charming by their presence and melodious sounds. The monastery of Jetavana looked like a richly decorated palace full of flowers and incense and was made in every way worthy of residence of the great Teacher. On Buddha's arrival Anāthapiṇḍika made a gift of the land and the monastery to Buddha and his Saṅgha of the four quarters by pouring water from a dragon-shaped waterpot of gold.

King Prasenajit

On receiving the news of Buddha's arrival in the city King Prasenajit hurried to the monastery with his royal equippage and saluted him reverently and expressed his great joy at the good fortune of his kingdom blessed as it was with the footsteps of a great saint.

Buddha observed the mental leanings of the king or wealth and pleasures and so he referred to past kings who went to heaven for good deeds or suffered in hells or evil acts. He admonished the king to refrain from

[1] There is not much difference in the different biographies of Buddha about the chronology of events up to his first visit to Kapilavastu. In the Pāli texts it is stated that Buddha returned from Kapilavastu to Rājagṛha where he met Anāthapiṇḍika for the first time and accepted his invitation to Śrāvastī, whereas the Sanskrit texts place this meeting of Buddha with Anāthapiṇḍika before Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu and state that Buddha went from Kapilavastu to Śrāvastī where he spent the third rainy season retreat. In the Pāli texts it is stated that Buddha spent the second, third and fourth *vassās* at Rājagṛha.

oppressing the people or destroying living beings, to subdue his senses, to forsake unrighteous doctrines and to follow the right path and lastly, to avoid the false teachers encouraging extreme austerities and propounding wrong views. He asked him to observe the rules of kingly conduct and not to exalt himself over others, to exercise his reason and to meditate deeply on the impermanence of earthly objects. He further pointed out that a man could never avoid the effects of his deeds and one must reap as he sows. A man is surrounded by the mountainwall of birth, old age, disease and death and there is no escape from it. Every thing on this earth is subject to destruction from Mount Sumeru to the minutest grains of sand, from a being of the Arūpaloka to the lowliest insect. A wise man realises this inconstancy and unreality and the presence of ever killing pain and so tries to get out of them by obtaining perfect knowledge.

It is doubtful if all these admonitions produced any effect on King Prasenajit's mind, for the king did neither give up his beliefs in Brāhmaṇic rituals and sacrifices nor did he decrease his regard for the heretical teachers, to whom Buddha referred as expositors of unrighteous doctrines. On the other hand, he wished that those heretical teachers should bring down the fame of Gautama Buddha by the show of superior miraculous powers, which usually were more appreciated by the common folk than religious or philosophical disputations.

The heretical teachers and their followers were gradually losing their hold upon the people with the increase of popularity of Buddha and his Saṅgha. There

are a few stories in the Pāli texts about their discomfiture at the hands of Buddha and his disciples.

Discomfiture of heretical teachers

The first was the offer, by a rich banker (*seṭṭhi*) of Rājagṛha, of a red sandal-wood bowl placed on a high bamboo-pole to any recluse who could rise up in the air and take it. None of the heretics possessed that power and so they were all disappointed. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja was passing by that way at the time. He heard of the offer from a devotee of his, and in order to establish the greatness of Buddha and his Saṅgha, he came flying through the air and took it. When this matter was reported to Buddha, he disapproved of the show of miraculous powers by his disciples and forbade all monks from exhibiting any such power. He, however, kept himself free of that restriction and resorted to miracles when he felt any necessity for the cause of the propagation of his teachings.

The second relates to the great pestilence raging in Vaiśālī, from which its suffering inhabitants could find no escape. They approached all the heretical teachers, who however, failed to give them any relief. They at last approached Buddha, who, with a view to alleviating their sufferings, paid a visit to Vaiśālī. As soon as he stepped into the city, the pestilence ceased, and all the inhabitants felt happy and relieved.

The third speaks of the miracle shown by Buddha at Sāvatthī, of growing a mango-tree, in a few minutes and then walking in the air as he did at the time of his visit to

Kapilavastu. By the exhibition of this miracle before a large concourse of subjects of King Prasenajit, Buddha once more outshone the heretical teachers, and humiliated them in the presence of the congregation.

Failing to compete with Buddha in the contest of superhuman powers, they made an attempt to discredit him by foul means. They engaged a cunning but beautiful woman Ciñcā māṇavikā, who was one of their devotees, to throw dirt on Buddha's character. Every evening she was asked to go to the Jetavana monastery, to spend the night somewhere else and at dawn to make a show as if she was coming out of Jetavana. Ciñcā acted according to their directions and after some time when Buddha was once delivering discourses she appeared there as a pregnant woman and attributed her pregnancy to Buddha. The god Indra was shocked at this perfidy of the woman and exposed her wickedness to the assembled by proving that she was not actually pregnant. She was then belaboured by the people and for her vile deed, she was swallowed up in a hellish fire.

While Buddha was staying at Śrāvastī, a bitter quarrel occurred between the Sākyans and Koliyans, with both of which tribes the Teacher was closely related by the father's and mother's side. The quarrel was due to the right of drawing water from the river Rohiṇī, which flowed between the territories of the two tribes. The Koliyans put up a dam across the stream and diverted it to irrigate their own fields of crops, which needed just one more watering to ripen them. The Sākyans would not listen to their demand and reasoning,

Formation of the order of nuns

and said that they were not going to part with their red, gold, blue sapphires and black coins for purchasing food grains from their neighbours. They abused each other, referring to the blemishes in their lines of descent. Such mutual abuses led to a battle-array on both sides of the river Rohiṇī. Buddha did not wish that his relatives should fight among themselves, causing loss of lives to both the tribes. He thereupon went to the spot and tried to educate them on the evil of mutual jealousies by illustrative stories and discourses. By his personal influence he was able not only to stop the fight but also to persuade many to join his order as monks. This event led to many women losing their husbands. The women who were forsaken by their husbands flocked round Mahāprajāpati Gautamī and wanted her to form an order of nuns. When Buddha paid his first visit to Kapilavastu, Mahāprajāpati requested the Teacher to make some provision for the religious life of women but her request was turned down on the ground that women were better suited for household life and should earn merits by becoming lay-devotees.

In the fifth year of his ministry when Buddha was staying at Vaiśālī, he paid a visit to Kapilavastu to see king Śuddhodana lying in his death-bed. After the king's death, he returned to Vaiśalī, where came also the grief-stricken Mahāprajāpati Gautamī along with the Sākyan and Koliyan ladies, whose husbands had become monks previously. All of them put on yellow robes and had their heads shaven. Mahāprajāpati appealed again to Buddha to permit the formation of the order of nuns. He at first declined saying

that women should remain lay-devotees and not become nuns. At the intervention and persuasion of Ānanda, he at last changed his mind and sanctioned the formation of the order of nuns provided the nuns agreed to the eight disabilities[1] imposed by him on the nuns. Mahāprajāpati reluctantly accepted the conditions and formed the order of nuns with a large number of women, who had suffered bereavement or were sick of family life, or whose husbands had become monks.

Buddha is said to have passed the sixth rainy season retreat at Maṅkula Hill, which has not yet been identified nor is it referred to in any of the discourses. It may be a lonely place located near Śrāvastī, wherefrom Buddha paid his visit to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven.

[1] The eight disabilities are —

(i) a nun, however old, must show respect to a bhikkhu, but never a monk to a nun,

(ii) a nun must not pass *vassā* in a monastery where there was no bhikkhu,

(iii) every fortnight a nun was required to ascertain from a bhikkhu the date of *uposatha* and the day fixed for bhikkhu's exhortation (*ovāda*) to the nuns,

(iv) a nun must perform *pavāraṇā* first in the bhikkhu-saṅgha and again in the bhikkhuṇī-saṅgha,

(v) a *mānatta* discipline must be taken by a nun first from the bhikkhu-saṅgha and then from the bhikkhuṇī-saṅgha,

(vi) a nun after training in the six *pācittiya* rules (63-68) of Bhikkhuṇī-pātimokkha, should seek *upasampadā* from both the Saṅghas one after another,

(vii) a nun must not revile a monk,

(viii) a nun must not admonish a monk or fix for the monks any date for *uposatha* or *pavāraṇā*.

In the seventh year of his ministry, Buddha went up to Trāyastriṁśa heaven to impart instructions to his mother Mahāmāyā, then a goddess there. In the Pāli texts he is said to have spent the seventh rainy season retreat there. In the later traditions, preserved in the commentary of *Dhammasaṅgaṇi,* it is said that Buddha being a mortal, had to come down to the earth every day at meal time to take his meals which Sāriputta kept ready for him. After taking his meal he gave Sāriputta the gist of the teachings imparted by him to his mother ; this gist happened to be the synopsis (*mātikā*) which was developed by Sāriputra into the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* and handed down by him to his disciples [1]

After the delivery of his discourses at Trāyastriṁśa heaven, Buddha finally came down to Jambūdvīpa at Saṅkāśya (west of Fatehgarh in the district of Farrukhabad). His descent was a favourite subject for the ancient sculptors, who represented the scene by depicting a ladder touching the earth.

After spending the eighth rainy season (*varṣā*) retreat on the Suṁsumāra hill in the Bhagga country, where Buddha

[1] There is however one text the Kathāvatthu, of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, which was not composed by Sāriputta. According to the Sarvāstivadins, each of the Abhidharma texts had separate authors, which are as follows :—

(i) Jñanaprasthānasūtra of Arya Kātyāyanī-putra with its six supplements, viz.,

(ii) Prakaraṇapāda of Sthavira Vasumitra.

(iii) Vijñānakāya of Sthavira Devaśarmā.

(iv) Dharmaskandha of Ārya Sāriputra.

(v) Prajñaptiśāstra of Ārya Maudgalyāyana.

(vi) Dhātukāya of Pūrṇa and

(vii) Saṅgīti-paryāya of Mahākausṭhila.

was entertained by Bodhirājakumāra, son of King Udena of Kauśāmbī, he passed on to Kauśāmbī where he spent the ninth *varṣā*, and the tenth in a nearby forest called Pārileyyaka The main incident at Kauśāmbī was the quarrel between the Vinayadharas and the Dhammakathikas, caused by a minor laches on the part of the teacher of the Dhammakathikas. The quarrel went to such a length that even the intervention of Buddha failed to make up the differences. Out of disgust for the quarrelsome nature of the monks and laymen of Kauśāmbī, Buddha retired to a forest called Pārileyyaka and preferred to be served there by an elephant and a monkey. At this attitude of the Teacher, the monks and laity of Kauśāmbī came to their senses and made up their differences and went to Bhagavān for asking his forgiveness. On this occasion Buddha delivered discourses on the evil of discord among monks.

The only other legend associated with Kauśāmbī was the attempt of Māgaṇḍiyā's father, to get his very beautiful daughter, Māgaṇḍiyā, married to Buddha, though her mother, who could read the signs of men, protested against such an attempt. On Buddha's remaining unconcerned about the offer, Māgaṇḍiyā felt insulted and resolved to take revenge on him. For her exquisite beauty, she became the queen of Udena of Kauśāmbī, and on one occasion she plotted to bring into disrepute her co-wife Queen Sāmāvatī, for her great devotion towards Buddha, but her sinister motive was ultimately found out by the king.

In the eleventh *varṣā*, Buddha took his residence at Dakkhiṇāgiri in the Brāhmaṇa village of Ekanālā,

near Rājagṛha. At that time a rich Brāhmaṇa called Kṛṣi-Bharadvāja celebrated the ploughing festival. He made grand preparations, collected several bullocks and ploughs, decorated them gorgeously, and offered food to thousands of men, who took part in the festival. Buddha considered the occasion as a suitable one for converting Kṛṣi-Bharadvāja, who had much accumulated merits to his credit. He therefore went to the place of festivities and took his seat on a high mound, emitting rays of light from his body. This miracle attracted the attention of the people, who flocked round him and paid him homage. This displeased the Brāhmaṇa, who scoffed at Buddha, saying that he was an idler and not a farmer earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. Buddha claimed that he was also a farmer, but only of a different type. He said that his ploughing field was '*dharma*,' which had to be cleaned of weeds of desires, and needed cultivation by the plough of knowledge, the seed to be sown was purity while watering and tending of seeds were to be done by the ethical observances, and the harvest was Nirvāṇa. This reply of Buddha brought about a sudden change in the mind of the Brāhmaṇa, who became then and there an ardent devotee of the Teacher.

Buddha left Ekanālā and went to Śrāvastī, where he was invited by a few Brāhmaṇas of Verañja, a place near Mathurā (=Vairambha in South Pañcāla). He accepted the invitation to] spend there the 12th *varṣā*. In the Sarvāstivāda tradition, it is said that Buddha visited the place at the invitation of the

Brāhmaṇa ruler of Vairambha, king Agnidatta. It so happened that during the residence of Buddha and his disciples there, a famine broke out and the residents of the place failed to supply food to the monks. King Agnidatta, it is said, at the instigation of his Brāhmaṇa ministers, who disliked the presence of Buddha at the place, forbade his subjects to give any alms to the monks. Fortunately, a caravan of horse-dealers was passing through the place at the time, carrying barley grains for their horses. They offered a measured quantity of these grains to the monks and thereby saved them from complete starvation. Some of the disciples of Buddha, like Maudgalyāyana, wanted to procure food by their miraculous powers but they were forbidden from doing so. It is said that a female devotee of Buddha used to pound the grains meant for horses and made them fit for human food. The monks lived on the rationed food supplied by the horse-dealers and passed the *varṣā* there, complying with the disciplinary rule of spending the *varṣā* at one place. At the end of the *varṣā*, king Agnidatta came to his senses, realised his mistake, became repentant and sought pardon of the Teacher, who readily forgave him and accepted his invitation for the day. Buddha along with his disciples left the place and passed through Soreyya, Sāṅkāśya, Kanauj, Allahabad and reached Banaras.

While staying at Banaras, Buddha came across Mahākātyāyana, who became one of his most distinguished disciples. He was a son of the royal priest of king Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī. After the death of his father he succeeded to the office of

Mahākātyāyana

the royal priest. He was deputed by the king to invite Buddha to his country. With seven companions he went to Buddha and after listening to his teachings he became an *arhat*. He conveyed the king's invitation to Buddha, who however declined to go to Avantī and said that Kātyāyana would now be able to explain the doctrines to the king. In Ujjeni, Mahākātyāyana dwelt mostly at Kuraragharapapāta in a hut in the Makkara-kaṭa forest but he spent much of his time in Magadha and Kosala, explaining lucidly the terse and enigmatic sayings of the Teacher. He established a centre of Buddhism in Ujjeni. He converted there the rich seṭṭhi's son Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa and a few Brāhmaṇas of this place. This centre of Buddhism attained importance a century after Buddha's death at the time of the Second Buddhist Synod, and was greatly enlarged by Aśoka and his queen, the mother of Mahinda and Saṁghamittā.

The disciples of Buddha, after passing through the ordeal at Verañja, became very emaciated and were invited by Mahānāma, the rich Śākyan relative of the Teacher to his place. Buddha accepted the invitation and passed the 13th *varṣā* at Cāliya hill near Kapilavastu, where he and his monks, under the care of Mahānāma, regained their normal health and vigour.

The 14th and 15th *varṣās* were passed by the Teacher at Śrāvastī and Kapilavastu respectively, and no event of importance is associated with the two places during these two *varṣās*.

The 16th *varṣā* was spent by the Teacher at Ālavī, a place near Śrāvastī. The only outstanding event at this

place was the conversion of the Ālavaka Yakṣa and the son of the king of Ālavī. The tradition runs as follows :

Ālavaka Yakṣa

The king of Ālavī once went to a forest for hunting and fell in the hands of the Yakṣa Ālavaka, who was going to eat him up. The king got his release by promising to offer to the Yakṣa one human being every day. He offered all the criminals first and then he asked each family of Ālavī to offer one of their sons. The king's turn came at last and he offered his own son Ālavaka Kumāra to the Yakṣa. At that time Buddha reached Ālavī and entered into the abode of this Ālavaka Yakṣa, when he was away to Himavanta and occupied the Yakṣa's throne. On return when the Yakṣa found Buddha seated on his throne, he flew into rage but Buddha softened his wrath and gradually won him over by his instructions. Ālavaka Yakṣa became a devotee of Buddha and felt ashamed for his deeds. He did not accept for his meal the king's son, who thereupon became a lay-disciple of Buddha and ultimately became an *Anāgāmī*.

The 17th and 19th *varṣās* were passed by the Teacher at Rājagṛha and the 18th at the Cāliya hill. The rest of the *varṣās* were spent by him at Śrāvastī.

The traditional list of *varṣās* should not be taken as a chronological account of the Teacher's ministry. He preached in different places during the nine dry months of the year and spent the rains at a particular place, as mentioned above. There were also several disciples who came to the Teacher from far off countries like Gandhāra, Avantī and Aṅga throughout the year. The number of converts was quite large and all are not mentioned in the

texts. We come across also names of many persons and places[1] to whom and where Buddha delivered his discourses.

In the 21st *varga* of the *Buddhacarita* (SBE, XIX, pp. 241 ff) Aśvaghoṣa furnishes us with a list of prominent converts made by Buddha after his descent from the Trāyastriṁśa heaven. It cannot be taken as a chronological list, but it gives us one of the oldest traditions regarding the missionary activities of the Teacher. The names of converts (excepting those of Nāgas and Yakṣas) are given in the following order :

1. *Jyotiṣka*, son of a fabulously rich banker of Rājagṛha. On account of his past accumulated merits, he possessed in his life innumerable valuable jewels which roused even the jealousy of king Bimbisāra. He was one of the five persons of immeasurable wealth (*amitabhogā*).[2] He however gave away all his possessions, became a monk and attained *arhathood*.

2. *Jīvaka* :—Jīvaka must have been a very renowned physician in Buddha's days, and so many legends have grown round his name. In the Pāli traditions, it is said that king Bimbisāra selected Sālāvatī, the most beautiful maiden found in Rājagṛha, to be the royal courtezan, who could be a rival to the courtezan Āmrapālī of Vaiśālī. Sālāvatī gave birth to Jīvaka, and according to the custom of the courtezan, left him in a forest. Abhaya, son of king Bimbisāra by a courtezn, discovered the baby and adopted him as his son, for which Jīvaka was given the

[1] For an idea of the sites and discourses see N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I.

[2] *Aṅguttara Commentary*, I, p. 220.

, ppellation Komārabhacca (Kumārabhṛtya, i. e., bred and brought up by a prince).[1] When Jīvaka had grown up, he came to know of his undesirable parentage and decided to earn his livelihood by becoming a physicain. He went to Takṣaśilā where he was welcomed by the king of the country, Puṣkarasāri, who, at the request of Prince Abhaya, introduced Jīvaka to the famous teacher of medical science, Ātreya, who found his student to be extraordinarily intelligent and preferred to take him as his assistant whenever visiting a patient. Ātreya found his assistant wiser than himself and gave him his due recognition much to the chagrin of his fellow students. There are a number of stories as to how Jīvaka cured Bimbisāra, Caṇḍa Pradyota and other very rich men and women, and earned huge sums and property as his remuneration. There are references to his skill not only in medicine but also in surgery. Jīvaka, when probably fed up with his reputation and earning in his profession, became anxious to render some service to Buddha. It so happened that Buddha once fell ill of stomach troubles and it is said that he was cured by Jīvaka by making him smell there medicated flowers. As Jivaka gave free treatment to the monks, a large number of patients joined the Order to have free medical treatment at the hand of Jīvaka and thereby created a problem for the Buddhist Saṅgha. Jīvaka, it is said, became a lay-devotee of Buddha in the 20th year of his ministry and dedicated his mango-

[1] In the Sanskrit tradition (vide *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pp. 2, 23 f) Jīvaka is described as the illegitimate son of king Bimbisāra by the forlorn wife of a trader. He was brought up by Prince Abhaya, to whose care king Bimbisāra entrusted the child.

garden to the Saṅgha for the residence of monks. He advanced up to the Sotāpanna stage. He was responsible for the introduction of the Vinaya rules permitting sick monks to have medical and surgical aids. Jīvaka once raised the question, whether Buddhist monks should eat meat.[1] Buddha explained to him that a monk who practised love (*mettā*) to all beings could not deliberately ask for meat. He remained always unmindful of what he took as food and so if he was offered meat in his begging round he might take it, provided it was not specially prepared for him nor he had any suspicion that the meat offered had been prepared for him.

3. *Abhayarājakumāra,* son of king Bimbisāra by a courtezan of Ujjayinī[2]. In the Sanskrit tradition Abhaya is described as the son of courtezan Āmrapālī by king Bimbisāra. He was at first a follower of the Jainas (Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta) but was won over to Buddhism by the Teacher by solving his doubts. He ultimately became a monk and attained *arhathood.*

4. *Śroṇa Koṭiviśa,* son of a very rich banker of Campā (mod. Bhāgalpur), the capital of Aṅga. The palm of his hand and the soles of his feet were so delicate that he could not walk bare-footed. He became a devoted monk and used to practise meditation by circumambulating (*caṅkramaṇa*) the stūpas or sacred sites, which were all used to be marked with the blood of his feet. Noticing the blood-marks one day, Buddha allowed the use of shoes to

[1] *Majjhima,* I, p. 369ff.

[2] *Ibid.,* I, p. 392 ; III, p. 169 ; *Saṃyutta,* V, p. 455.

his monks, as Śroṇa Koṭiviśa declined to use shoes as a special favour.

5. *Nygrodha,* a distinguished Paribbājaka, who resided at Udumbarikārāma near Rājagṛha. He criticised Buddha for advocating mere solitude and not encouraging ascetic practices, which he thought were necessary for spiritual advancement. His views were changed by Buddha by a discourse.[1]

6. *Upāli-gahapati* of Nālandā was one of the great devotees and supporters of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta. One day he went to Buddha for establishing the excellence of his teacher and his doctrine. He was, however, silenced and won over by Buddha and became his devotee. His faith in Buddha became greater when he was permitted by the latter to continue his charity to the disciples of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta.[2]

7. *Pukkusāti* (Puṣkara-sāḍī = Fo-kia-lo), king of Takṣaśilā (Gandhāra) was a contemporary of king Bimbisāra. The two kings became friends through some traders who used to carry on trade between Gandhāra and Magadha. Pukkusāti once sent valuable presents to Bimbisāra, who in return sent a golden tablet, on which were inscribed important teachings of Buddha. Pukkusāti on reading them made up his mind to become a recluse. He put on yellow robes and walked all the way to Rājagṛha to meet Buddha who was then dwelling at Śrāvastī. Buddha observed that he had accumulated

[1] *Dīgha,* III, p. 36 f.

[2] *Majjhima,* I, p. 371 f.

enough merits to attain perfection and so he hurried to Rājagṛha and met Pukkusāti without disclosing his identity at the hermitage of Bhaggava. He entered into discussion with Pukkusāti and delivered to him the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta,* when Pukkusāti found out that his companion was none else than the great Buddha to whom he then paid his homage.[1]

8. *Kūṭadanta* was a learned Brāhmaṇa teacher, to whom king Bimbisāra granted the income of the village of Khānumata for the maintenance of his academy. He was going to celebrate a sacrifice in the Brāhmanical fashion when Buddha intervened and replaced his sacrifice by one of righteous conduct and moral observances.[2]

9. *Pañcaśikha* is a very popular figure in the Buddhist texts, both Hīnayāna[3] and Mahāyāna.[4] He was a *gandharva* and as such a good musician. He played on the flute eulogising Buddha and his teachings. He acted as an intermediary between Buddha and the gods, specially Śakra. He was an ardent admirer and lay-follower of Buddha. He had as his wife Bhaddā Suriyavaccasā.

10. *Nandamātā* was a distinguished female lay-disciple of Buddha. There were two Nandamātās, one called Uttarā and the other Velukaṇṭakī. It may be they were one and the same person with two names, i.e., Uttarā Nandamātā of Velukaṇṭa village. She entertained Sāriputta and other monks and thereby earned

[1] *Majjhima,* III, pp. 237-47.
[2] *Dīgha,* I, p. 127 f.
[3] *Dīgha,* II, p. 263 f.
[4] *Samādhirājasūtra,* p. 274.

great merits. She became a *Sakṛdāgāmī*.[1] The conversion of Velukaṇṭakī Nandamātā might have taken place in the eleventh year of Buddha's ministry. She was also noted for her ability to memorise some texts of the Piṭaka, particularly the *Pārāyaṇavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*.

11. *Viśākhā* was the daughter of Dhanañjaya, son of Meṇḍaka, a very rich banker of Aṅga. She was born in the city of Bhaddiya, to which place Buddha once paid a visit for instructing Sela Brāhmaṇa and others. Viśākhā was then only seven years old. She saw Buddha and had great reverence for him. Her grandfather Meṇḍaka invited Buddha and the monks daily to his house for their forenoon meal. At the request of King Prasenajit, Dhanañjaya was sent by king Bimbisāra to Kosala where he settled at Sāketa, which place the king of Kosala allotted for his residence. When Viśākhā reached her marriageable age, she was selected by Migāra, another rich banker of Śrāvastī for his son Puṇṇavaḍḍhana. Migāra was a follower and supporter of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta and his saṅgha, and wanted his son's wife Viśākhā to be worshipful to them. She however declined to comply with her father-in-law's directions and, after overcoming some difficulties, she was able to make her father-in-law a devotee of Buddha. Viśākhā used to feed 500 monks daily. She was granted permission by Buddha to give robes to the bhikkhus during rainy season, bathing clothes to the nuns, food to all monks and nuns coming to Sāvatthī, medicine to the sick and rice-gruel to every monk and nun. She erected

[1] *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 26, 88 ; II, p. 164 ; IV, p. 348.

the Pubbārāma monastery, known also as the Migāramātupāsāda. She lived up to the 120th year and had several grandchildren. She was complimented by Buddha as the chief of the female donors to the Saṅgha.

12. *Soṇadaṇḍa* (Śroṇadaṇḍa) was a famous teacher of Brāhmaṇical śāstras. He lived at Campā, the capital of Aṅga and was maintained by king Bimbisāra by the grant of a fief. He once met Buddha and had a talk with him about the superiority of Brāhmaṇas by birth. He was however convinced by Buddha that not birth but moral virtues counted in determining the superiority or inferiority of a person. Soṇadaṇḍa was much older than Buddha but he declared himself as a lay-follower of the Teacher.[1]

13-14. *Keniya* (Kaineya-ṛṣi) and *Sela* (Śaila-ṛṣi) These two ascetics, who were Jaṭilas, were converted, towards the end of Buddha's life (Gilgit Manuscripts, III, i. p. 259 f.). Kaineya ṛṣi, on listening to Buddha's discourses on the four truths, became highly impressed and advanced spiritually to the Anāgāmī stage. He offered to Buddha eight kinds of fruit-drinks, which were accepted by him and also were allowed to the monks under certain conditions. Kaineya felt very happy that his request was complied with by the Teacher, and invited him and his monks to a meal in his hermitage. From early dawn, he made a great preparation for entertaining the Saṅgha, and these drew attention of Śaila-ṛṣi, who, on hearing of Buddha's merits as well as those of his Saṅgha, became anxious to join the Saṅgha.

[1] *Dīgha*, I.

Before meal-time he with his 500 followers approached Bhagavā and got admission into the Saṅgha as ordained monks. When Kaineya was serving food to the monks, he found to his pleasant surprise that his friend Śaila along with his disciples was seated among the monks. Kaineya thereupon decided to join the Buddhist order and sought ordination from the Teacher on the following day.[1] Their training was entrusted to Mahākapphina, Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

15. *Aṅgulimāla* was the son of the priest of king Prasenajit of Kosala. His father was Bhaggava or Gagga, and mother Mantānī. He was sent to Takṣaśilā, where he surpassed his comrades in his academic attainments and this roused the jealousy of his fellow-mates, who managed to create a split between the Ācārya and Aṅgulimāla. In order to get rid of Aṅgulimāla, the Ācārya asked him to procure 100 human fingers as his remuneration. Aṅgulimāla,as in duty bound,went to Kosala laid himself ambush at the cross-roads, killed 99 men and collected their fingers. Accidentally the 100th victim of his was going to be his mother. Buddha discovered that Aṅgulimāla had great merits to his credit and that all would be lost if he

[1] In the Pali tradition, the account of the con Sela is given as follows —

Keniya and Sela belonged to Āpana in Anga. The former was a rich Brāhmaṇa, while the latter was a distinguished Brāhmanical teacher with many students. They were followers of the Jaṭilas. Keniya met Buddha and offered him and his monks, sweet drinks and listened to his teachings, which made a good impression on Sela, who thereupon became a lay disciple of Buddha along with Keniya (Sutta Nipāta, p. 102 ff).

committed the deadly sin of matricide. He hurried to the waiting place of Aṅgulimāla and became the 100th person. By his extraordinary power he brought Aṅgulimāla to his sense and then admitted him into his Saṅgha. Soon after Aṅgulimāla attained *arhathood*. This conversion took place in the twentieth year of Buddha's ministry.[1]

16. *Brahmāyu* was a Brāhmaṇa teacher of Mithilā. He was 120 years old when Buddha visited Videha. He sent his pupil Uttaramāṇava to find out if Buddha possessed all the thirty-two signs of great men. Receiving an affirmative answer from Uttara, he met Buddha at Makhādeva mango garden. In the presence of a large congregation, who was very respectful to Brahmāyu, the latter touched the feet of Buddha and listened to a discourse delivered by him. He invited Buddha and his monks to his house and entertained them for a week. He died soon after this meeting and became an *Anāgāmī*.[2]

17. *Mahāli*—Mahāli was a Licchavi and probably a follower of Pūraṇa Kassapa and believed in the existence of soul and body. He met Buddha at Kūṭāgāraśālā in Vesāli and listened to Buddha's discourses on the eightfold path and other topics[3] and became a devotee of Buddha.

18. *Sīha* was a Licchavi general and a follower of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta. He was wrongly informed about the teachings of Buddha. Once along with many Liccha-

1 *Majjhima*, II, 103-4.
2 *Ibid*, II, P. 146.
3 *Dīgha* I, 150-8 *Saṃyutta*, iii, 68 f.

vis, he met Buddha and was much impressed by his teachings. He invited Buddha and his disciples to his house, served a meal with meat, which brought forth vehement criticism from the Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputtas. This was made an occasion for Buddha's laying down the five restrictions to be observed by monks in eating meat.[1] Sīha with many Licchavis became lay-disciples of Buddha. He was permitted to continue his charities to the Nigaṇṭhas, for which his devotion to Buddha increased further.

19. *Saccaka* was a teacher of the Licchavis and a devoted follower of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta. He was defeated in a controversy with Buddha (Cūla-Saccakasutta) and became his follower. He had four daughters who after discussion with Sāriputta joined the order of nuns.[2]

20. *Jānussoṇi* was a rich and distinguished Brāhmaṇa teacher. He used to meet Buddha often at Jetavanavihāra and had discussions with him on diverse topics. He was the royal priest of the king of Kosala. He probably became a lay-devotee of Buddha.

21. *Vakkali* (Sans. Vakrapāli) belonged to a celebrated Brāhmaṇa family of Śrāvastī. He became a bhikṣu and developed great faith in Buddha. He was told by Buddha that he could see him truly if he could have an insight into his *dhamma*. One day he was going to commit suicide by throwing himself down the precipice of Gṛdhrakūṭa when he was stopped by Buddha who gave him directions for meditations and other

[1] *Vinaya*, I, p. 233 f ; IV, p. 179.

[2] *Majjhima*, I, p. 234 f.

practices. He however ended his life by a knife and when he was feeling excruciating pain, he attained *arhathood* but died then and there.

22. *Bāvarī* was the royal priest of the king of Kosala. He became an ascetic, went to Dakṣiṇāpatha and dwelt in a hermitage on the bank of the Godāvarī in Assaka. He performed a great sacrifice when he was teased by a Brāhmaṇa who cursed him for failing to give him 500 coins. Being afraid of the curse he asked his disciples to seek from Buddha a remedy. His disciples proceeded to Sāvatthī but learning that Buddha had just left the city, they followed him and met him at Rājagṛha.[1] They listened to Buddha's discourses and became *arhats* while one of them, Piṅgiya, nephew of Bāvarī, remained an *anāgāmī*. Piṅgiya returned to Bāvarī and recounted to him what he had learnt from Buddha. Hearing Piṅgiya's exposition of Buddha's teachings Bāvarī also became an *anāgāmī*, while Piṅgiya attained *arhathood*.

23. *Sunakkhatta*, a Licchavi prince of Vesālī, became the personal attendant of Buddha towards the end of his life. He remained with Buddha for some time but felt dissatisfied because Buddha refrained from exhibiting miraculous powers and answering his queries about the beginning of the world. He left the Buddhist Saṅgha and became a disciple of Korakhattiya, then of Kandaramasaka, and lastly of Pāṭikaputta in admiration of their ascetic practices which were disapproved by Buddha.[2]

[1] For the route taken by Bāvari's disciples, see above, p. 17.

[2] *Dīgha*, Pāṭikasutta.

24. *Devadatta*—Towards the end of Buddha's ministry, Devadatta grew jealous of Buddha's ever increasing popularity, and began to devise schemes for overthrowing the Teacher from his exalted position.

Devadatta, cousin and brother-in-law of Prince Siddhārtha, was a person full of jealousy and of sinister designs, and bore enmity towards Prince Siddhārtha in several of their previous existences. He was one of the earliest converts of Buddha and was admitted into the Saṅgha along with Ānanda, Anuruddha and Upāli. He made some spiritual progress and attained certain *ṛddhis* (supernatural powers) by which he could convince Ajātaśatru that he was a saint. He collected also some monks of his ilk around him like Kokālika and Koṭamaraka Tissa and also a few nuns like Thullanandā, and obtained the support of a small section of lay-devotees like Daṇḍapāṇi and Suppabuddha. Towards the end of Buddha's life, he wanted that Buddha, like other religious heads, should nominate him as his successor. Buddha told him that he was not going to name any successor of his, not even his best disciples like Sāriputta and Moggallāna, not to speak of an evil-minded person like him. On this refusal, Devadatta flew into rage, secured the sympathy of some wicked monks and formed a new party with himself as the leader. He obtained the support of King Ajātaśatru, who was then a prince designing plans to kill his old father king Bimbisāra. With Ajātaśatru's help he made attempts to take Buddha's life once by engaging some ruffians, then by throwing a huge boulder

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from the top of a hill and lastly by letting loose a mad rutting elephant called Nālāgiri. The ruffians turned into devotees when they approached the Teacher while the downward course of the boulder was arrested by twin rocks, letting a splinter of the boulder strike the feet of the Teacher and shedding his blood. As regards the mad elephant, it is said that when Nālagiri rushed into the city trampling down hundreds of men Buddha was passing by the street along with his monks ; some of them ran helter and skelter and many disciples and devotees entreated Buddha to step aside to avoid the fury of Nālāgiri, while Ānanda remained steady and did not leave his side. Buddha did not swerve an inch and proceeded unruffled in his usual round. Nālāgiri came rushing at him but, alas to the astonishment of all, it lay down at his feet and listened to the reproachful words of the Great Being. This news of taming Nālagiri spread all round like fire, and Buddha's fame spread far and wide and subdued even Ajātaśatru, who approached the Teacher, asked for forgiveness and expressed his firm faith in him. Failing in his nefarious designs, Devadatta set himself up as a leader of some monks, who disapproved of the easy life permitted by Buddha to his disciples and laid down that (i) every monk should be a forest-dweller, (ii) live on alms and never accept any invitation from the laity, (iii) use rags only collected from dust heap for his robes and (iv) sleep under a tree and never under a roof and lastly (v) never eat fish or flesh even under the restriction prescribed by Buddha. Devadatta, it is said, suffered long in hells for these evil deeds.

BUDDHA'S LAST JOURNEY

After completing his work of propagating his teachings and organizing the monastic institutions Bhagavān Buddha made up his mind to enter into *parinirvāṇa*. To lay down his mortal remains at Kuśīnagara he decided to leave Rājagṛha. Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa, the Governor of Pāṭaliputra, on receiving the news of Buddha's departure from Rājagṛha went to him and enquired in the name of king Ajātaśatru how the Vajjians could be conquered. In reply Buddha spoke of certain practices and virtues of the Vajjians which maintained their invincibility. After leaving Rājagṛha, Bhagavā passed through Ambalaṭṭhikā, Nālandā (Pāvārikambavana) and reached Pāṭaligāma, which was then a mere village left to the care of two Brāhmaṇa officers of king Ajātaśatru, Sunīdha and Vassakāra. The two officers were instructed by the king to fortify the town against the attack of neighbouring enemies, particularly the Vajjians. Buddha and his Saṅgha were entertained by the devotees of Pāṭaligāma including the Brāhmaṇa officials, who, out of reverence for Buddha, decided to name the gate and the landing place by which Buddha left Pāṭaligāma as Gotamadvāra and Gotamatittha respectively.

After leaving Pāṭaliputta, Buddha passed through Koṭigāma and Nādikā (Giñjakāvasatha) and reached Vaiśālī (Ambapālivana) delivering discourses at each of his halting places. On receiving the news of Buddha's arrival in her Mango garden, the courtezan Ambapālī came to invite him and his Saṅgha to her residence for fore-

noon meals. Buddha referred to her exquisite beauty and feminine charms and warned his monk-disciples to be on guard by exercising restraint on their senses. When Ambapālī was returning home, she was met by the Licchavi nobles who were forestalled by Ambapālī in having the privilege of offering meals to Buddha and his Saṅgha. They offered her a price for giving up the privilege, but she declined and made elaborate arrangements for welcoming the Teacher and his disciples and gave them food to her heart's content. After the meal-offering, she donated her Ambavana for the residence of monks. Bhagavān Buddha complimented her for her charity and piety, and instructed her to realise the impermanence of wealth and beauty and to look upon religion as the best ornament. He addressed the Licchavis also and advised them to follow the right path of good conduct and to subdue pride and lust for pelf and power. He warned them against the heretical teachers who claimed purity by living the life of an animal or by having three ablutions daily, or by performing fire-sacrifices or by practising austerities without moral rectitude.

After staying for some time in the Mango-grove of Ambapālī, Buddha with his Saṅgha moved to Beluvagāma to spend the rainy season retreat (*vassā*) there. He fell very ill but he suppressed his illness, as he thought that it would not be proper to attain *parinirvāṇa* without giving prior intimation to his innumerable devotees. Ānanda felt very happy to find the Teacher again in good health and said that he knew that the Teacher could not depart from this world without giving last instructions to his disciples. He was however told by the Teacher that he was eighty

years old and was carrying on his body as a rickety chariot. His true disciples should not expect from him active guidance, should be self-reliant and depend on his teachings (*attadīpo attasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo, dhammadīpo dhammasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo*) and practise the four *smṛtyupasthānas* (self-recollectedness) (see infra, p. 184-5).

Buddha returned to Vaiśālī and told Ānanda that he liked the Cetiyas of the place, viz., Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Sarandada and Cāpāla. While staying at Cāpāla cetiya, he told Ānanda that one who had mastered the four *ṛddhipādas* (power of concentration of (i) will, (ii) thought, (iii) energy and (iv) investigation could, if he wished, live for an aeon. This hint of the Teacher could not be grasped by Ānanda, who missed the opportunity to beseech him to live for an aeon. At that moment Māra appeared before the Teacher and said that as he had accomplished his task of propagating his religion widely, making many faithful disciples, he should now enter into *parinirvāṇa*. Buddha agreed and said that he was going to lay down his mortal body after three months. When he made this determination, the earth quaked to confirm it. Ānanda became mad with grief when he learnt that his beloved Teacher had fixed the limit of his life. He was consoled by the Teacher with the words that separation from the dear ones was inevitable and all originated beings and objects must have decay and destruction.

Buddha then had all the monks residing in and around Vaiśālī assembled at Mahāvana Kūṭāgārasālā and reminded them that his whole teachings consisted of the thirty-seven

Bodhipakṣīya dharmas.[1] He left Vaiśālī casting his last look at it. He then crossed Bhaṇḍagāma, Hatthigāma and Jambugāma and reached Bhoganagara where he directed his disciples to give special attention to observance of moral precepts (*sīla*), meditation (*samādhi*), acquisition of knowledge (*paññā*) and attainment of emancipation (*vimutti*). He then gave them instructions for checking up the authenticity of *Buddhavacana*.

From Bhoganagara he moved on to Pāvā and stayed at the mango garden of Cunda, the blacksmith's son, who invited him for the forenoon meal. Cunda prepared *sūkaramaddava* (a kind of mushroom)[2] and offered it to the monks. Buddha asked Cunda to serve *sūkaramaddava* to him alone and not to the monks as they would not be able to digest it. He took it and became seriously ill with excruciating pain. He moved then to Kuśinagara and laid himself down under a tree on a robe folded four times. He accepted an excellent robe offered by Pukkusa Mallaputta, who became his lay-devotee. He then took his bath at *Kakutthā nadī* and went to the Sālavana of the Mallas at Kuśinagara. The whole of Vaiśālī was distressed at the news of the impending demise of the Great Being and appeared like the orphan daughter grieving at the death of her father, and had no words to express her sorrow and weeped in silence.

[1] These are as follows: 4 Smrtyupasthāna, 4 Samyakprahāna, 4 Ṛddhipāda, 5 Indriya, 5 Bala, 7 Bodhyanga, 8 Mārga. (See infra, p. 183 f.)

[2] *Sūkaramaddava* is wrongly translated by European scholars as "Boar's flesh." (See infra, p. 324)

The warlike Licchavis lost all their strength and energy and were just enduring their sufferings with fortitude. The world lost a mastermind and every one realised that all earthly existences must have an end! The learned monks remained seated with composure and meditated on the truths taught by the Teacher of gods and men, and were pondering over the fact that their omniscient master was going to have eternal rest. The gods made the Sāla trees full of flowers for shedding on the body of Bhagavān. They came to have their last look at the god of gods and Upāvana, who was fanning Bhagavā at the time, was asked by Buddha himself to move away so as not to obstruct the view of the gods assembled there. The gods also grieved at the thought of Buddha's impending demise.

Buddha then gave the directions to his lay-disciples to earn merit by pilgrimage to the four places, viz., Kapilavastu, Gayā, Sarnath and Kasia, sanctified by (i) Buddha's birth, (ii) attainment of Bodhi, (iii) delivery of first discourse and (iv) parinirvāṇa respectively. He gave also hints for the celebrations to be performed at his funeral pyre.

Ānanda entreated Buddha to choose as the site for his *parinirvāṇa* one of the six important cities, viz., Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī, and Bārāṇasī but Buddha declined and described the former greatness of Kusīnārā. The Mallas of Kusīnārā then rushed to Buddha's place of rest and offered their adoration.

Subhadda, a heretical paribbājaka, suddenly made up his mind to have his ordination as a Buddhist monk directly from Bhagavā, who inspite of his failing health, complied with his wishes.

After ordaining Subhadda, Bhagavā instructed Ānanda to tell his disciples that after his demise his teachings and disciplinary rules would be their teacher and guide and that they could discard some of the minor disciplinary rules laid down by him, should they feel so necessary.

He then entered into his last meditation rising from the first to the eighth and then came down to the first. He again rose from the first to the fourth and laid down his mortal remains for ever. The event was signified by an earthquake while Brahmā Sahampati and Sakka, the king of gods, expressed their sorrow by saying that all constituted beings and objects must have decay and the final decay was all that could be desired. Anuruddha, an arhat, referred to the extraordinary power of concentration of the Teacher and compared his departure from the mortal world and attainment of mental freedom to the flame of a lamp dying out, while Ānanda, who was not very spiritually advanced, was struck by the mysterious outburst of nature, grieving and shedding tears all the time. Thus ended the fleeting life of a Great Being, the god of men and gods, so inexorable is the law of nature : *Aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino*.

CHAPTER V

BRĀHMAṆAS OF KOSALA

KOSALA of the Buddhist texts corresponds roughly to the sub-montane or Terai region of Uttar Pradesh, i.e., the northern parts of the districts of Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda and Bahraich including the low hills[1] on the north of Bahraich and Gonda districts. There were a few villages which have been described in the Pāli texts as the exclusive habitation of Brāhmaṇas, e.g., Ekasālā, Icchānaṅgala, Nagaravinda, Manasākaṭa, Venāgapura, Daṇḍakappaka, and Veludvāra.

Brāhmaṇa-Māhāsālas: Besides these there were a few villages, which were given away by King Pasenadi to distinguished Brāhmaṇa teachers and one Kṣatriya (Rājañña) teacher very probably for maintaining their academic institutions and their students. The names preserved in the Pāli texts are :

(i) Pokkharasādi of Ukkaṭṭha,
(ii) Lohicca of Sālavati,
(iii) Caṅki of Opasāda,
(iv) Pāyāsi Rājañña of Setavyā.[2]

[1] *Saṃyutta* I, p. 116 : Kosalesu Himavantapadese araññakūṭikāyaṁ.

[2] The grants were made in these terms: Sattussadaṁ satiṇakaṭṭhodakaṁ sadhaññaṁ rājabhoggaṁ raññā Pasenadi-Kosalena dinnaṁ rājadāyaṁ brahmadeyyaṁ.

At Manasākaṭa lived a number of distinguished rich (Mahasāla) Brāhmaṇas, of whom Tārukkha, Jānussoṇi, Todeyya are specially mentioned.[1] These Brāhmaṇas used to spend lavishly for performing sacrificial ceremonies. Jānussoṇi moved about in a white chariot drawn by four white mares, decorated with white strappings and reins. The chariot was covered by a white umbrella. The brāhmaṇa had white head-gear, white cloth, white shoes and was fanned by white chowrie (vālavījanī) and looked like the god Brahmā moving in a clean chariot (Brahmayāna).[2]

The suttas dealing with the meeting of Brāhmaṇa Mahāsālas mentioned above are introduced almost in a stereotyped form of which an instance is given here. The meeting of Pokkharasādi with Buddha is described thus: Buddha reached Icchānaṅgala Brāhmaṇagāma in Kosala with 500 monks. Pokkharasādi, the Mahāsāla-Brāhmaṇa of Ukkaṭṭha, heard of Samaṇa Gotama's arrival at Icchānaṅgala as also of his great reputation as the very wise, fully enlightened knower of the world, the excellent guide and teacher of men and gods. He preached a doctrine which was excellent in the beginning, middle and end, and conducive to a pure and holy life. Pokkharasādi had a very intelligent and learned student called Ambaṭṭha. He deputed him to ascertain how far the reputation of Samaṇa Gotama as heard by him was true and whether he possessed all the thirty-two signs indicating either a Cakkavatti or a Sammāsambuddha. Ambaṭṭha met

[1] *Dīgha*, I, p. 235 ; cf. *Suttanipāta*, p. 115.

[2] *Majjhima*, I, p. 176 ; *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 4.

Buddha and tried to establish the superiority of Brāhmaṇas by birth. Buddha by his usual arguments refuted it. Ambaṭṭha then noticed that Buddha possessed all the thirtytwo signs. He went back and reported it to his teacher and related to him the discussion that he had with Buddha. Pokkharasādi took Ambaṭṭha to task for his irreverent talks with such a great personality and he himself proceeded to the place where Buddha was staying and invited him to his residence for midday meal. Buddha accepted the invitation and on the following day after taking his meal, he delivered his discourses first on the merits of gift and moral observances, on deeds leading to heavens, and evils of sensual pleasures. When he found his listener's mind soft and pliable, he delivered the higher teachings of the four truths. Being very much impressed by the discourses, Pokkharasādi with his children, wife, ministers and others took refuge in Buddha and begged of him to be regarded as a lay-devotee of his and requested him to visit his house for alms as he did of his other upāsakas.[1]

The Lohiccasutta also opens in a similar manner. Lohicca Brāhmaṇa sent his barber Bhesika to invite Samaṇa Gotama who accepted the invitation. Lohicca Brāhmaṇa held the view that a person should acquire merits by good deeds but he need not divulge to others how and what he had acquired. Buddha convinced him by arguments that his view was not correct. He spoke of teachers who had not perfected themselves and whose

[1] *Dīgha*, I.

instructions also were not faithfully followed by his disciples. He himself was an ideal teacher and had many spiritual acquisitions. He imparted his teachings to others, who derived benefit by following them.[1] On one occasion Lohicca Brāhmaṇa[2] met Mahākaccāyana and learnt from him the Buddhist teaching that a person should have self-control and this could be acquired by keeping one-self free from attachments caused by the function of the sense-organs.

The Caṅkīsutta[3] opens in a little different style. One day Caṅkī Brāhmaṇa saw that the residents of Opasāda were going to Buddha to listen to his teachings. He decided to follow them. He was however dissuaded by some Brāhmaṇas who had come there from other places and said that as Caṅkī was a very learned teacher of a very high family and was maintained by a grant of king Pasenadi, he should not go to see Samaṇa Gotama. Caṅkī explained to them that Samaṇa Gotama also came of a very high family and had immense wealth which he gave up and became a recluse at an early age. He was perfect in morals and had got rid of attachment. He was a teacher of many. He had as his lay-devotees men like kings Bimbisāra and Pasenadi, and even Pokkharasādi, a Mahāsāla-Brāhmaṇa. He had come to Opasāda and it was his duty to show him due honour and courtesies. He approached Buddha with a large number

[1] *Dīgha*, I.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 120.

[3] *Majjhima*, II, p. 164.

of Brāhmaṇa followers but had no talk with Buddha. He only listened to a discussion of Buddha with Kāpathika-māṇava regarding the realisation and preservation of the truth (*saccānupatti* and *saccānurakkhaṇā*).

Jānussoṇi-Brāhmaṇa-Mahāsāla met Buddha three times. He first heard from Pilotika Paribbājaka that Buddha was all-enlightened, that his doctrine was excellent and that his saṅgha was pure and noble, and that Buddha's knowledge was so deep that none could fathom it. He silenced all disputants who tried to heckle him and made them his followers. He convinced also many Brāhmaṇa and Gahapati Mahāsālas by arguments and established the flawlessness of his doctrine. On hearing the words of Pilotika, Jānussoṇi became very faithful and offered his homage to Buddha from a distance. He then approached the Teacher and referred to the talk he had with Pilotika. Buddha explained to him briefly his ethical teachings, the means of controlling one's sense-organs, practice of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhānas* = *smṛtyupasthānas*) and meditations (*samādhi*)[1]. Jānussoṇi was very much impressed by the discourses and became a lay-devotee of Buddha. On one occasion, Jānussoṇi referred to the practice of monks of going to a forest for the purpose of meditation. He said that this practice of living a solitary life in a forest must be very hard for them. Buddha in reply recounted his own experiences, how before attaining Sambodhi he resorted to this practice and felt terrified on some occasions but he found out that the cause of his fear was either an animal

[1] *Majjhima*, I, p. 176. see infra, p. 184 f.

passing along or a peacock knocking down a branch of a tree or wind blowing the fallen leaves. He said that fear arose mostly out of an impure state of mind,and when one got rid of it,he felt no fear any more even while meditating in a dreadful forest. He experienced this all and ultimately attained the higher powers and perfect knowledge.[1] On another occasion Jānussoṇi raised the question whether "all exists or not." Buddha, as is well known, rejected these two extreme views and taught a middle path of eightfold practices which he termed as *Brahmayāna*.[2] According to him the question of existence or non-existence of phenomenal objects should not be raised as they were mere appearances like a mirage. Hence to put any question relating to their reality or unreality was futile and should be left unanswered (avyakāta).[3]

Rājañña Mahāsāla: The *Pāyāsisuttanta*[4] is similar in style to that of Caṅkīsutta. In this suttanta Arhat Kumāra Kassapa appears in place of Samana Gotama. Pāyāsi was a *rājañña* and not a brāhmaṇa-mahāsāla. He held the view that there was no after-world, neither self-born beings, nor effects of good or bad deeds. Kumāra Kassapa by several similes changed his view and made him a lay-devotee.

Attainment of Brahmaloka: The Brāhmaṇas with whom Buddha came in contact were mostly seekers of Brahmahood (Brahmasahavyatā). A typical conversation from

[1] *Majjhima*, I, p. 16.
[2] *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 76.
[4] *Dīgha*, III.

the *Tevijjasutta*[1] is given below : Two young Brāhmaṇa students were disputing whether the path prescribed by Pokkharsāti for reaching Brahmaloka (Brahmasahavyatā) was better than that prescribed by Tārukkha. In order to settle their dispute, they decided to approach Buddha. They admitted that there were different paths leading to Brahmaloka prescribed by the Brāhmaṇas of different Sākhās, viz., Addhariya (Adhvaryu), Tittiriya (Taittirīya), Chandoka (Chāndogya-Sāmavedic) and Bavharija (Bahvṛca-Rigvedic). Buddha after hearing their points of dispute questioned whether any Brāhmaṇa or his teacher or his teacher's teacher or the seers like Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Yāmataggi, Aṅgirasa, Bharadvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa, Bhagu had seen Brahmā. They admitted that none of the teachers or seers said that he had seen Brahmā. Buddha then said that the Sun and the Moon were seen by every body but none could tell us about the path to reach them while Brahmā was not so seen and so how could one indicate the path to a place unseen. Was not the seeking of Brahmaloka similar to asking for a beautiful girl without knowing her whereabouts or putting up a staircase without knowing the place to be reached by it. He further said that the Brāhmaṇas invited by *mantras* the gods Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Īśāna, Prajāpati, Brahmā etc.[2] Such solicitations might be compared to a person wishing to cross a river asking the other shore to come to him. He then asked them: Was it not a fact that Brahmā was free from avarice, ill-will, impurity and if so were the

[1] *Dīgha*, I, p. 235 f.
[2] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 21?.

Brāhmaṇas seeking Brahmahood had the same virtues, if not, then how could there be an association (*sahavyatā*) between two different categories, one pure and the other impure. The Brāhmaṇa students got dumb-founded and asked Buddha if he knew the path leading to Brahmaloka. Buddha answered in the affirmative and said that the path according to him was as follows : A person should at first dissociate himself from five pleasures derived through five sense-organs : eyes, ears, nose, tongue and body (*kāmaguṇā*) and destroy the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇas*)[1] and then practise the four pure forms of living (*brahma-vihāra*) which consisted in exercising towards all beings a feeling of love (*mettā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) and in feeling real joy (*muditā*) at the success of others including one's rivals or enemies, and lastly in maintaining equanimity (*upekkhā*) in weal and woe. The acquisition of these four mental states required a long and arduous practice and according to Buddha only these four which he defined as "pure abodes" (*brahma-vihāra*) could make one a denizen of Brahmaloka. By perfection in these four practices, one would get rid of avarice, ill-will, impurity and could claim association with Brahmā (Brahmasahavyatā)[2]

Brāhmaṇas' superiority by birth : Another topic which is usually discussed with the Brāhmaṇa teachers is the claim

[1] The nīvaraṇas are :—

(a) Kāmacchanda = strong desire for worldly objects.
(b) Vyāpāda = ill-will, envy.
(c) Thīnamiddha = idleness, slothfulness.
(d) Uddhacca-kukkucca = arrogance, doubt.
(e) Vicikicchā = lack of faith in the Triratna. see infra, p. 179.

[2] *Majjhima*, II, pp. 195, 207.

made by the Brāhmaṇas of their superiority by birth. The Brāhmaṇas did not approve of Buddha's lack of respect for them and there were also occasions when the Brāhmaṇas were rude to the Teacher. It is said that at Sāvatthī when Aggika Bharadvāja was burning sacrificial fire and offering oblations (*āhūti*), Buddha in course of his begging round approached the place of sacrifice. Aggika Bharadvāja seeing him from a distance cried "O shaven-headed monk, O base-born, you remain there" ("tatra-eva muṇḍaka, tatra-eva samaṇaka tatra-eva vasalaka tiṭṭhahīti"). Buddha took his words quietly and asked the Brāhmaṇa whether he knew the true meaning of "vasalaka" and explained to him that a wicked person not observing the moral precepts[1] and duties was really a 'vasalaka' and not a saint like him.[2] Sundarika Bharadvāja Brāhmaṇa, after burning sacrificial fire (*aggihutta*), was looking for a person to whom he would offer the remnant of his clarified butter (*havyasesa*) meant for oblations. Buddha was then seated under a tree covering his head. On hearing the sound of footsteps, he removed the cover and saw the Brāhmaṇa, who thereupon

[1] The moral precepts are :—

(a) Pānātipātā pativirato hoti = abstention from killing.
(b) Adinnādānā „ „ „ „ stealing.
(c) Musāvādā „ „ „ „ speaking falsehood.
(d) Abrahmacariyā „ „ „ „ leading an unchaste life.
(e) Surameraymajjapamādaṭṭhānā paṭivirato hoti = abstention from drinking wine and keeping away from places of merry making.

[2] *Suttanipāta*, p. 21.

flew into rage and said "O you are a shaveling" and was about to turn back but thinking again that sometimes a Brāhmaṇa also had his head shaved, he turned round and enquired of Buddha's caste. In reply Buddha said that he was neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a prince, not even a Vaiśya but a recluse seeking nothing and that a gift to him would bear great fruit.[1] On one occasion, Buddha was going towards the meeting hall where the Brāhmaṇas living in the Śākya territory were seated in an assembly. They said, "Who are these shaven-headed recluses, how they should know the rules of a meeting ?" (ke ca muṇḍakā samaṇakā, ke ca sabhādhammaṁ jānissanti).[2] Buddha however remained silent and walked up to the hall. Among the Brāhmaṇas there were some who doubted the superiority of Brāhmaṇas by birth. At Icchānaṅgala where Buddha was staying, Vāseṭṭha and Bharadvāja, students of Pokkharasāti and Tarukkha respectively, had a difference of opinion, one holding the superiority of Brāhmaṇas by birth, and the other by their deeds, viz., observance of rituals and moral duties (jātiyā brāhmaṇo hoti udāhu bhavati kammanā). To have their difference settled, they placed their problem before Buddha, who explained to them that if there was no distinction by origin among trees, shrubs, insects, reptiles, birds, then why should there be a distinction by birth among human beings. It is by profession that one was called a cultivator (*kassaka*), a craftsman (*sippika*), a trader (*vāṇija*), a servant (*pessikā*), a thief (*cora*), a wrestler (*yodhājīva*), an officiating priest

[1] *Suttanipāta*, p. 79 ; *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 167.
[2] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 184.

(*yājaka*), a king (*rājā*) and so his conclusion was that a Brāhmaṇa should not claim superiority by birth. He said that a person leading a perfectly pure life should be called a Brāhmaṇa. His view was expressed in these words :

Na jaccā brāhmaṇo hoti, na jaccā hoti abrāhmaṇo
Kammaṇā brāhmaṇo hoti, kammaṇā hoti abrāhmaṇo.
Tapena brahmacariyena saṃyamena damena ca
etena brāhmaṇo hoti etaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ uttamaṁ.[1]

[*Transl.*—One is neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a non-Brāhmaṇa by birth. It is by one's action (profession) that one is a Brāhmaṇa or a non-Brāhmaṇa. It is by religious exercises and by leading a holy life and by self-control and discipline, one becomes a Brāhmaṇa and an excellent one.]

Assalāyana put the same problem in a little different form to Buddha while he was staying at Sāvatthī. He stated that Brāhmaṇa is the only highest caste, others are low and impure. They are the descendants of Brahmā. Buddha in reply advanced the following arguments (a) Brāhmaṇas are born of their mothers in the same way as do men of other castes ; (b) in Yona-Kamboja and other border countries there are two castes, masters and servants, but there masters sometimes become servants, and servants masters ; (c) a Brāhmaṇa goes to hell or heaven on account of his evil or good deeds so also do the men of other castes ; (d) a Brāhmaṇa or any other caste-man can equally cultivate virtue like love and compassion, clean their bodies by bath in rivers, kindle fire from a faggot and so forth and there is no difference in the fire, and lastly (e) an educated

[1] *Suttanipāta*, p. 115.

Brāhmaṇa receives more respect than an uneducated and so a distinction between two Brāhmaṇas is admitted, and hence, it is not mere birth but deed (*kamma*) is the criterion for one's superiority or inferiority.[1] Subha Todeyyaputta approached Buddha at Sāvatthī with the question why among men are found some superior and some inferior (manussāṇaṁ dissati hīnappaṇītatā) in health, colour, wealth, family, knowledge and so forth. Buddha said that superiority and inferiority of being depended on the past deeds which were in fact the progenitors, relatives, and support of all beings (Kammassakā sattā kammadāyādā kammayoni kammabandhu kammapaṭisaraṇā)[2]. He concluded his exposition by the following stanza :

Kammaṇā vattati loko kammaṇā vattati pajā
Kammanibandhanā sattā rathassāṇīva yāyato.[3]

[*Transl.*—On deeds depends the world, likewise on deeds depend the men of the world, beings were linked up with their past deeds, like the king-pin of the moving chariot.][4]

The Brāhmaṇa teachers posed many other problems for Buddha's solution, particularly those which were current at the time, e.g., whether the phenomenal world exists or not (sabbaṁ atthi), whether the soul exists or not, whether the Tathāgata (i.e., the perfectly emancipated being) exists or not after death, what is the gradual course of training envisaged by Buddha (see infra, and p. 193 b.) so forth.

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 147.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 203.
[3] *Suttanipāta*, p. 123.
[4] For a discussion on the theory of Kamma see infra, p. 2(1-2.

Brāhmaṇa householders: Besides the Brāhmaṇa teachers and disputants, there were many Brāhmaṇa householders who used to listen to Buddha's discourses. Some of them became lay-devotees (*upāsakas*) while a few joined the Buddhist order of monks.

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*[1] appear the names of the following Brāhmaṇas of Kosala and the Śākyan territory, who approached Buddha with their queries and after listening to Buddha's thought-provoking replies became monks while others declared themselves as lay-devotees (upāsakas). Those who attained arhathood were (i) Ahiṁsaka, (ii) Jaṭā Bharadvāja, (iii) Suddhika Bharadvāja, (iv) Aggika Bharadvāja, (v) Sundarīka Bharadvāja and (vi) Bahudhīti Bharadvāja. Those who became upāsakas were (i) Udaya, (ii) Devahita, (iii) Lukhapāpuraṇa, (iv) Mānatthaddha, (v) Paccanīkasāta, (vi) Navakammika-Bharadvāja, (vii) Kaṭṭhahāra, (viii) Mātuposaka, (ix) Bhikkhaka, (x) Saṅgārava, (xi) Verahaccāni Brāhmaṇī and (xii) Khomadussaka Brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā. This list should be taken as a typical and not an exhaustive one of the Brāhmaṇa converts of Kosala.

Buddha as usual did not impart his deeper teachings to those who became mere lay-devotees, e.g., he advised Mānatthaddha Brāhmaṇa to show due respect to his parents, elder brother and his preceptor and to subdue his pride ; he praised Mātuposaka Brāhmaṇa for looking after his parents and told him that he would be reborn in heaven for such meritorious acts. To Bhikkhaka Brāhmaṇa he said that

[1] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 165.

mere begging was not a virtue, a person living on alms should lead a holy life acquiring knowledge. Navakammika and Kaṭṭhahārika Brāhmaṇas were greatly impressed by finding Buddha sitting alone in a forest and meditating deeply and became his devotees. Saṅgārava brāhmaṇa believed in attaining purity by bath in the sacred rivers, but he was corrected by Buddha, who told him that the bath of purity was to be taken only in the deep river of truths by which one could cross the river of repeated existences and reach the other shore[1]. On a former occasion Sangārava expressed displeasure to Dhanañjani Brāhmaṇī for uttering words of salutation to the Triratna in the presence of old Brāhmaṇas. He was however asked by the Brāhmaṇī to meet Buddha, who had then reached Caṇḍālakappa, the mango garden of Todeyya Brāhmaṇa. Saṅgārava approached Buddha and asked him whether he had obtained in this life the higher powers (*abhiññā*)[2]. Buddha replied that there were three categories of Tevijjas[3] or those proficient in the six higher powers, viz., (i) the

[1] *Samyutta*, I, p. 183.

[2] The six higher powers are divine eyes, divine ears, knowledge of others' thoughts, power of remembering one's past existence and attainment of miraculous powers.

[3] *Anguttara*, I, p. 166: Tevijja, according to Jānussoni Brāhmaṇa, is one who is pure in his descent, proficient in the three Vedas with all the subsidiary sciences. According to Buddha, a Tevijja is a monk who has so spiritually advanced as to be able (i) to know his past existences, (ii) to know the future of persons after death and (iii) to comprehend the four truths and thereby to realise that he had eradicated the three impurities (*āsavas*) and that he had become freed and would have no more rebirths.

Arhats who obtained them by listening to the teachings of others, (ii) the disputants (*Takkī-vimaṁsis*) who acquired the same through faith while (iii) Sammāsambuddhas who had them without anybody's help but for obtaining them had to leave his home life and to go through a long and arduous course of exertion. Saṅgārava was much impressed by Buddha's words and became a devotee of his.[1] On another occasion Saṅgārava claimed that the performance of a sacrifice conferred benefits on many, viz., the sacrificer as also the officiating priests, performing the rituals while in Buddhism a monk worked for his own good only. Buddha countered him by arguing that a monk after ordination persuaded others to retire from the world and take to a homeless religious life and so the monks also conferred benefits on many.[2]

There was one Brāhmaṇī teacher called Verahaccāni, who sent her student to invite Udāyi, when the latter was staying at the mango garden of Todeyya. Udāyi accepted the invitation and came to her house. After the meals the Brāhmaṇī, putting on her sandals, sitting on a high seat and veiling her face requested Udāyi to deliver a discourse but Udāyi departed saying that he would do so at the proper time. The second time she did the same thing and Udāyi also departed without giving a discourse. On the third time the Brāhmaṇī sat bare-footed on a low seat with her veil removed and enquired of Udāyi the cause of happiness and misery. Udāyi replied that happiness and misery were

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 209.
[2] *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 168-169.

due to the sense-organs, which one should control to go beyond happiness and misery. The Brāhmaṇī became very much impressed by the answer and became a lay-devotee (*upāsikā*).[1]

From the above account, it will be apparent that many Brāhamaṇas who were staunch believers in Brāhmanic rituals and practices expressed their admiration for Buddha's attainments and teachings. They became mostly lay-supporters of the religion without giving up their Brāhmanic faith. There were, however, some very learned Brāhmaṇas who eschewed Brāhmanism and joined the order as Buddhist monks.

[1] *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 121 f.

CHAPTER VI

BUDDHA, AND KINGS PASENADI AND UDENA

BUDDHA'S contact with king Pasenadi of Kosala stands next in importance to that with king Bimbisāra in the history of Buddhism. King Pasenadi was not only a contemporary of, but also was of the same age with Buddha.[1] He held sway over the Śākyan territory and probably over the Kālāmas of Kesaputta.[2] When Buddha paid his first visit to Śrāvastī on the completion of the Jetavana monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika, king Pasenadi, as a matter of courtesy, welcomed the Great Teacher to his capital and expressed his joy that his country had been blessed with the footsteps of a great saint like Buddha. He gave a hearing to Buddha's teachings which perhaps did not create any impression on his mind. He even questioned Buddha why he, though young and not a recluse of very old standing, should claim full enlightenment when the older and distinguished teachers like Pūraṇa Kassapa, Maṅkhali Gosāla and others did not do so. Buddha said that the power of a Kṣatriya, a serpent, a fire, and a bhikkhu though young, should not be minimised.[3] On another occasion when the king was seated before Buddha at Migāramātupāsāda, seven Jaṭilas, seven Nigaṇṭhas, seven

[1] *Majjhima,* II, p. 124 : Bhagavā pi asītiko aham pi asītiko.

[2] *Aṅguttara,* I, p. 188 : Kesaputta is included in Kosala.

[3] *Saṃyutta,* I, p. 68-69.

Acelas, seven Ekasāṭakas and seven Paribbājakas with long hairs and nails were passing by him. The king stood up and after announcing his name saluted them with great veneration and when they were gone the king spoke to Buddha about their great spiritual acquisitions[1]. He was however contradicted by Buddha who explained to him that the saintliness of a person could be known by another saint and not by a householder, and that saintliness should be tested by a saint's observance of moral precepts, his conduct, courage in distress, and philosophica lor doctrinal discussions.

When Buddha was dwelling at Sāvatthī, King Pasenadi celebrated a sacrifice by offering several animals. This was brought by some monks to the notice of Buddha who said that the ceremonies of Assamedha, Purisamedha, Sammāpāsa and Vājapeyya, involving killing of animals, could not produce the desired fruits. Only those ceremonies in which no living beings were killed bore fruits and pleased the gods and the sacrificer earned merits[2].

King Pasenadi's firm support of Brāhmanic rituals and sciences is evidenced also by his grants of villages to the distinguished Brāhmana teachers for maintaining academies and students.

There are a few legends about King Pasenadi's gradual inclination towards Buddha and his teachings.

King Pasenadi became a benefactor of the Saṅgha though he did not develop sincere faith in the Triratna.

[1] *Samyutta*, I, p. 78.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 75-6 ; *Anguttara*, II, p. 42.

He set up an alms-hall to offer food to 500 monks daily. He sent there well-cooked excellent food but the monks preferred to go to the common folk and receive alms from them. The king complained to the Teacher that the monks were deserting his alms-hall and wanted to know the reason of it. He was told that the cause of such desertion was the lack of his as well as his family's faith in the Saṅgha, and absence of due regard for the monks. He thereupon decided to become a relative of the Śākyas by taking as his queen a Śākyan girl, but as the Śākyans were too proud of their purity of descent, he was given the hands of Vāsabhakhattiyā, daughter by a slave girl of the Śākyan chief Mahānāma, the successor of king Śuddhodana, without however disclosing exactly her parentage.

Some time after this marriage, king Pasenadi was attacked and defeated by king Ajātasattu. When flying away for safety he took shelter in the garden of the chief florist of Kosala who had a very pious and beautiful daughter called Mallikā. He made her his chief queen. Queen Mallikā was a great devotee of Buddha.

The king then took as one of his queens the wife of Uppalagandha, a multi-millionaire, when the latter became a monk. This queen also was a devotee of Buddha. There were 500 ladies in Pasenadi's palace, and all of them wanted to listen to the religious discourses delivered at Jetavana but the king did not permit them to do so. He however requested Buddha to depute a monk every day to the palace to impart religious instructions. The heretical teachers did not like this arrangement and tried to throw dirt on the character of Ānanda who was deputed by

Buddha for the purpose and on the ladies of the palace but without any success.

Mallikā was the most favourite queen of King Pasenadi. When a daughter was born to her the king did not feel very happy and went to Buddha who however spoke highly of a female's virtues. She had so much faith in Buddha that she took every word of the Teacher as gospel truth. On one occasion she whole-heartedly believed the words of Buddha that "dear ones are the source of misery" which were disliked by king Pasenadi. The queen after getting these words confirmed by the Teacher through Nālijaṅgha Brāhmaṇa, convinced the king of the reason lying behind these words. She said that Vajirā (daughter of Mallikā and queen of Ajātasattu), Vāsabhakhattiyā, her son Viḍūḍabha, the people of Kāsi-Kosala including herself were no doubt very dear to the king, but was it not inevitable that all these were subject to old age and death and hence were in the long run sources of misery.[1] In another talk with Mallikā, king Pasenadi admitted that there was nothing dearer to one than one's own self and this was also confirmed by the Teacher.[2] On the death of queen Mallikā, and his grand mother, the king went to Buddha to seek consolation.[3] The king had two sisters, Somā and Sukulā who were also very devoted to Buddha.[4]

Inspite of the King's predilections for Brāhmaṇas there are evidences in the Nikāyas to show that he became

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 109 f.
[2] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 75.
[3] *Aṅguttara*, III, pp. 57, 97.
[4] *Majjhima*, II, p. 125.

gradually a faithful lay-devotee of Buddha in his advanced age. In the *Kosala-saṁyutta*[1] there are a number of discourses delivered specially to Pasenadi. These discourses contain the following instructions :—

(a) Greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) are the main causes of our sufferings.
(b) All Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, however wealthy they may be, are subject to old age and death and therefore they should be righteous and religious.
(c) One who commits wrong in deed, word and thought is not dear to his own self because the self suffers for the same in future existences.
(d) No army can save a wrong doer or speaker or thinker from misery.[2]
(e) Very few of the men immersed in worldly enjoyments do not take to indulgence.
(f) Many well-to-do persons speak lies deliberately for the sake of worldly gains.
(g) Restraint in food is desirable. (Pasenadi engaged a young Brāhmaṇa to remind him about this while taking food).
(h) The king himself should be diligent in order to make his officers and subordinates diligent.
(i) The best friend and guide is the eightfold path enunciated by Buddha.
(j) Miserliness leads nowhere.

[1] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 68 f.

[2] *Majjhima*, II, p. 114: Ānanda explains to the king what are kāyasamācara, vacīsamācāra and manosamācāra.

(k) Gifts should be made to deserving saints, who have removed impurities and advanced spiritually.

King Pasenadi on one occasion came across Khemā bhikkhuṇī, who was formerly the queen of Bimbisāra, famous for her exquisite beauty, at Toraṇavatthu, lying midway between Sāvatthī and Sāketa. Hearing her reputation as a saintly nun the king approached her with the question, "Whether the Tathāgata (= one who has realised the Truth) exists after death or not ?" Khemā bhikkhuṇī said that no answer could be given to that question as it was like questioning the king if he could tell with the help of his accountant the number of sands existing in the Ganges or measure the quantity of water in a sea. Khemā then explained to the king that an unenlightened person conceived of the Tathāgata as an individual composed of mind and material elements, i.e., the five constituents whereas the Tathāgata was absolutely devoid of them and hence a Tathāgata was immeasurable and incomprehensible, too deep like the ocean.[1]

When king Pasenadi reached his eightieth year he became a great devotee of Buddha, who was then staying at Medalumpa of the Śākyan territory. The king went there from Naṅgaraka in the company of his chief minister Dīgha Kārāyaṇa. The king, before entering into the Teacher's chamber, entrusted his crown and sword to Dīgha Kārāyaṇa, who, it is said, was

[1] *Saṁyutta*, IV, p. 377 : tathāgato gambhiro appameyyo duppariyogāho seyyathāpi mahāsamuddo. *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 227.

displeased with the king and fled with the crown and sword and handed them over to the king's son and commander-in-chief Viḍūḍabha and made him the king of Kosala. King Pasenadi remained closetted with the Teacher and expressed his admiration for the monks of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He said that he had seen many recluses who after 10 to 40 years of retired life returned to home life and enjoyed worldly pleasures while he had seen no Buddhist monk doing so. He had seen father, mother and son, kings and nobles quarrelling among themselves while he found the Buddhist monks always in concord. He had seen recluses look pale and sick but he found none so among the monks. He had seen people engaged in idle talks even in law courts while he had never heard even a coughing sound, not to speak of idle talks, in an assembly where Buddha delivered discourses and he did not find also any one putting questions as he had seen in other such assemblies of religious teachers. Lastly he referred to his two officers, Isidatta and Purāṇa, who had greater respect for the Teacher than for their lord and employer, the king. Thus king Pasenadi expressed his great regard for the Teacher.[1] In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[2] King Pasenadi came to see Buddha at Jetavana after his return as a conqueror in a battle. He very respectfully approached Buddha and expressed his great admiration for the Teacher for the following reasons:—(i) Buddha's life was dedicated to the good of humanity ; (ii) he was perfect in moral precepts, (iii) he took delight in residing in forests, (iv) he

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 118 f.
[2] *Aṅguttara*, V, p. 65.

felt satisfied with whatever he got for his food, robes and other requisites, (v) he really deserved gifts and praise, (vi) he found pleasure in talks relating to solitude, moral precept, meditation etc., and lastly (vii) he possessed the six *abhiññās*.[1]

OFFICERS OF KING PASENADI

King Pasenadi had two officers (architects) called Isidatta and Purāṇa. They were very much devoted to the Triratna. They felt sad when Buddha was leaving Sāvatthī after the rainy season retreat. They said that they had a very heavy responsibility of keeping guard on king Pasenadi when he rode an elephant with two delicate charming wives one in front and another behind as they had to watch the elephant, the two wives and above all themselves from the enchanting ladies. They were advised by the Teacher to develop firm faith in the Triratna, discard miserliness by offering open-handed charities, for which they were already well-known.

Purāṇa had a daughter Migasālā, who became an upāsikā. She one day enquired of Ānanda why her father Purāṇa, who was a *brahmacārī*, should reach the same stage of sanctification (*sakadāgāmī*) as Isidatta who lived with a wife. Ānanda put this query to Buddha who explained to him the different ways of spiritual acquisitions by different persons.[2]

Strange and glorious was the career of Ahimsaka, the son of the royal priest, Gagga, of king Pasenadi. The

[1] ...ve, p. 47 n.
[2] Aṅguttara, III, p. 348.

name Ahiṁsaka was almost forgotton and he became widely known as Aṅgulimāla for reasons stated previously[1]. One day when Pasenadi was going out with 500 cavalry to capture the robber Aṅgulimāla, he met Buddha and told him about his mission. He was asked by Buddha what he would do if he found Aṅgulimala as a monk with shaven head and yellow robe. He said that he wouid pay him due respects. His attention was then drawn to a monk seated on the right of the Teacher and he was told that there was nothing to be afraid of. When Aṅgulimāla used to go to the people of the city for alms he was hated and sometimes beaten by them. One day in his begging round Aṅgulimāla saw a woman suffering from extreme delivery pain. He brought this matter to the notice of the Teacher, who sent him back to the woman and asked him to perform an act of truth by uttering the words "Yato aham bhaginī jāto nābhijānāmi sañcicca pāṇam jīvitā voropetā, tena saccena sotthi te hotu, sotthi gabbhassā ti" (By this truth that since my birth I have not taken any life consciously, may you be happy and have safe delivery). Aṅgulimāla looked askance at the Teacher who explained to him that by the word "jāto" he meant his rebirth as an ordained monk. The act of truth had the desired effect and made Aṅgulimāla famous in Kosala.[2]

KING UDENA OF KOSAMBI

King Udena of Kosambī very probably possessed a powerful army of elephants, and so some legends have

[1] Vide p. 115-6.
[2] *Majjhima*. II, p. 97 f.

grown round him as a great tamer of elephants. It is said that by means of his special knowledge of taming elephants he was able to carry away Vāsuladattā, daughter of king Caṇḍa Pajjota of Avantī. He had as his treasurer Ghoṣaka-seṭṭhi who adopted Sāmāvatī, the only child of a friend of his as his daughter. King Udena was attracted by the exquisite beauty of Sāmāvatī and took her as one of his queens, much against the will of Ghoṣaka. He married another beautiful girl called Māgaṇḍiyā, daughter of a Brāhmaṇa of the Kuru country. When Buddha visited Kosambī at the request of the three seṭṭhis of the place, Sāmāvatt's attendant Khujjuttarā used to listen to Buddha's discourses. She became proficient in the Tripiṭaka and was able to reproduce what she learnt from Buddha. Queen Sāmāvatī and her other female companions listened to Khujjuttarā's exposition of Buddha's teaching and developed faith in the Triratna. They used to pay their respects to Buddha from the window—holes whenever Buddha passed by the palace. Queen Māgandiyā brought this matter to the notice of the King, who was not very favourably disposed towards Buddha and his disciples. She also engaged men to abuse and insult the monks including Ānanda, who reported the matter to Buddha. Ānanda was asked by the Teacher to have forbearance and not to mind the abuses and insults. Through Māgandiyā's machinations, the king became very much displeased with Queen Sāmāvatī and wanted to put her to death but he failed to do so on account of certain supernatural forces protecting the queen. The king became later on repentant and acceded to Sāmāvatī's request to

feed the monks daily in his palace. He resented the rich offerings of cloths made to the monks by the ladies of the palace, but changed his mind when he heard from Ānanda how the offerings were utilised by the monks. He does not seem to have ever met Buddha. There is only one discourse in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (iv. p. 110) in which Piṇḍola Bharadvāja explained to king Udena the reason why young men joined the Buddhist order as recluses. After the discourse the king expressed his faith in the Triratna.

King Udena's son Bodhirājakumāra was however more faithful to Buddha than his father. He invited Buddha to inaugurate his new palace, Kokanada, built at Suṁsumāragiri in the Bhagga country. He laid down valuable carpets on the staircase for Buddha, who however declined to tread on them as he did not like that he should set a bad example of luxury to his disciples. Buddha after taking meals in his palace delivered to the prince a discourse in which he explained that austerities did not always lead to happiness. He himself practised them and found them to be so. He then explained to him that as a person needed faith, energy, straightforwardness and good health for learning any worldly act or craft, so also a monk needed them to attain perfection in knowledge. This discourse opened up the eyes of the prince, who thereupon became a faithful lay-devotee of Buddha. The prince said that when he was a baby his mother wanted him to show reverence to the Teacher, and so it was in keeping with his mother's wishes that he had become a lay-devotee of Buddha.

CHAPTER VII

TRAINING OF LAY-DEVOTEES

SOME of the Brāhmana teachers and householders of Kosala became curious to know if Buddha had prescribed any gradual course of training of his disciples similar to that of the Brāhmanic teachers. Subha Todeyyaputta said that the Brāhmaṇas prescribed five practices for earning merits, which were (i) truthfulness (*saccam*), (ii) meditational exercises (*tapam*), (iii) pure and holy life (*brahmacariyam*), (iv) study (*ajjhesanaṁ*) and (v) gifts (*cāga*)[1]. Buddha questioned Subha-māṇava whether he knew any teacher or seer, who had experienced the result on accomplishing the five practices. Subha answered in the negative. He then questioned whether these practices were resorted to by the householders or recluses. Subha said these were practised by the householders but he admitted that the recluses were in a better position than the householders to fulfil these practices. Buddha agreed with him and said that each of these practices should be regarded as an aid (*cittaparikkhāra*) to the purification of mind from enmity, hatred and such other impurities and to make it fit for meditation. By being truthful, by *tapasyā*, by leading a pure and holy life, by study and by making gifts, one derived serene pleasure internally. This pleasure led to concentration of thoughts. The practices enumerated by Subha could be profitably taken up by the house-

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 199.

holders, though they might not be directly effective in conferring merits or attaining a higher spiritual state.[1]

Upāsakas : The gradual course of training of the Brāhmaṇas, as explained by Subha Todeyyaputta was, meant primarily for the householders and not recluses whom Buddha had mainly in view. Buddha therefore told Subha that he had prescribed certain duties and practices for his lay-devotees and those would bear comparison with what he had said about the Brahmanical course of training. In fact, Buddha did not chalk out a clear cut course of training for the laymen[2] but there are a few stray instructions for their guidance. These instructions have been put together here to give an idea of the place of laity in Buddhism. It was Mahānāma the Śākyan chief of Kapilavatthu who broached the question to Buddha as to how he would define a Buddhist Upāsaka. Buddha told him that whoever, without any reference to his caste or creed, complied with the conditions noted below would be regarded by him as an Upāsaka.

(i) *Trisaraṇa*—An Upāsaka must take refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 206.

[2] *Suttanipāta* (Dhammika-sutta, delivered at Sāvatthi), p. 69:

Gahaṭṭhavattaṁ pana vo vadāmi
Yathakāro sāvako sādhu hoti
na h'es o labbhā sapariggahena
phassetuṁ yo kevalo bhikkhu-dhammo.

[*Transl* : I am going to tell you the householder's duties, by which one becomes a good disciple but it is not possible for a person with worldly ties to attain the *dhamma* meant for monks.]

(ii) *Pañcasīla*—He must refrain from killing living beings, from stealing, from leading an unchaste life, from speaking falsehood, and from indulging in drinks and merry-makings.

(iii) *Saddhā* (*Śraddhā*)—He must have firm faith in Buddha as the all enlightened one, the knower of the world, the best guide of men, the teacher of men and gods.

(iv) *Cāga* (*Tyāga*)—He should give up miserliness, be open-handed in making charities and be anxious to give alms to those who seek it.

(v) *Paññā* (*Prajñā*)—He should be wise and try to comprehend the origin and decay of objects and the path leading to the cessation of misery.[1] He should get rid of avarice (*abhijjhā*), hatred (*vyāpāda*), slothfulness (*thīnamiddha*), arrogance (*uddhacca-kukkucca*), and doubt (*vicikicchā*) about Triratna.[2]

(vi) *Suta* (*Śruta*)—He should listen to the religious discourses and ponder over the teachings. Some of the lay-devotees were advised also to study the discourses delivered by Buddha.

In the *Dhammikasutta*[3] and elsewhere it has been enjoined by Buddha that the lay-devotees must observe the first five of the ten moral precepts (*sīlas*) as stated above, and those who wanted to be more earnest in their endeavours should observe three more, viz.,

(i) to refrain from meals at night ;
(ii) to refrain from using scent and garlands ; and

[1] *Saṁyutta*, V. p. 395.
[2] *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 67.
[3] *Suttanipāta* p. 64; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 214 ; IV, pp. 254, 257-8, 262.

(iii) to sleep on low bed spread on the floor.

Those who observe the eight moral precepts have been highly praised by the Teachers, according to whom they obtain great merits and glory (mahapphalo mahānisaṁso mahājutiko mahāvipphāro) far exceeding the sovereignty of the sixteen provinces (*mahājanapadas*) of India and they are reborns in the higher heaven enjoying long life and divine pleasures.

A lay-devotee usually took the vow of observing the eight precepts on the Uposatha days, i.e., 8th, 14th or 15th days of the month and for doing so he often resided in the monastery. After the Uposatha, he was advised to offer food and drinks to the monks.

In another talk with Mahānāma the Śākyan, Buddha told him that a lay-devotee should not only himself comply with the six conditions mentioned above but persuade others to do so. A faithful devotee should depend more on his deeds than on beliefs in auspicious ceremonies (*kotuhala-maṅgaliko*). In making gifts also he should confine himself to those of his own faith and not to outsiders (*no ito bahiddhā dakkhiṇeyyaṁ*).[1]

There were also occasions when Buddha asked his spiritually advanced Upāsakas to take to more arduous practices. Nakulapitā Gahapati, an advanced Upāsaka, once approached Buddha while he was staying at Bhesakalāvana Migadāya at Suṁsumāragiri in the Bhagga country. He enquired of him that as he had grown old, what he should do now. Buddha advised him to keep his mind

[1] *Aṅguttara,* III, p. 206; IV, p. 281.

anātura (in good health). Without asking Buddha anything more about it he requested Sāriputta to explain what Buddha meant by "*anātura*." Sāriputta told him that by "*anātura*" the Teacher meant that he should not establish any relation of himself with one of the five constituents of the body,[1] i.e., he must know that his self was not *rūpa*, nor *vedanā* etc., nor his self was endowed with *rūpa*, *vedanā* etc., nor his self was in *rūpa*, etc., nor *rūpa* etc., were in his self. When Buddha was staying at Isipatana in Vārāṇasī, Dhammadinna Upāsaka approached him and asked for some instructions. Buddha advised him to study the *suttantas* (discourses) delivered by him and particularly those dealing with transcendental (*lokuttara*) topics and with non-existence of worldly objects (*suññatā-paṭisaṁyuttaṁ*). The upāsaka said that as he was a householder having sons, living in luxury and handling gold and silver, it would not be possible for him to study the deeper *suttantas*. Buddha then advised him to develop firm faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha as stated above and by this he would be able to reach the Sotāpatti stage. By such firm faith one might also be reborn in the heavens.[2] Buddha said that some of the householders could profitably follow the eightfold path as much as the recluses.[3]

The highest practice that could be recommended to a householder was explained by Anuruddha to Pañcakaṅga

[1] The five constituents are rūpa (matter), vedanā (feeling), saññā (perception), saṅkhārā (impressions) and viññāṇa (consciousness).

[2] *Samyutta*, IV, p. 274 ; V, p. 407.

[3] *Samyutta*, V, p. 19.

Ṭhapati when Buddha was staying at Sāvatthī. Pañcakaṅga ṭhapati enquired of Anuruddha about the difference in meaning of "appamāṇa-cetovimutti" and "mahaggata-cetovimutti" which had been recommended for practice to the householders. Anuruddha explained to him that the first meant attainment of mental emancipation through the exercise of love (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy at others' success (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*) over unlimited area while the second meant the exercise of the above four over limited area which, of course, might extend from a village to an extensive country bounded by the seas. The idea is that a householder is asked to extend his love (*Mettā*) for his son gradually to others of the village, the city, the whole country, and lastly the whole universe, i.e., he must love all beings as he loved his sons. In this way he is to extend his *Karuṇā*, *Muditā* and *Upekkhā*. As a result of these two types of practices those of the first category (unlimited) are reborn as gods with greater glory and brighteness than those of the second category (limited).[1]

Buddha's best male lay-disciples were Citta-gahapati and Hatthaka-Ālavaka, while his best female lay-disciples were Khujjuttarā and Velukaṇṭakīyā Nandamātā.[2]

Gift—There are a number of directions relating to gifts to be made by a lay-devotee. Buddha said that gifts should be made to deserving persons like spiritually advanced recluses, who were sincere and arduous in their practices. He said that just as a king chose the best artisans and

[1] *Majjhima*, III, p. 144 f.

[2] *Saṁyutta*, II, p. 236 ; see also *Saṁyutta*, IV for details re. Citta Gahapati.

soldiers and gave them awards and not to the undeserving persons so also a householder should be discriminating in making his gifts.[1] On another occasion Buddha explained that in order to make a gift pure, both the giver and the receiver should themselves be pure and be observant of the moral precepts.[2] Then again when a gift was made, the giver must not count upon it as a meritorious act, which would recompense him ultimately by wealth, sons and daughters, happiness or heavenly existence after death.[3] The Buddhist monks again were advised not to accept gifts from persons who were not respectful to the monks in general and spoke ill of the *Triratna*.[4] The gifts of food, robes, bed and medicinal requisites to the Saṅgha ensured to the donor fame, heavenly existence after death, and increase of merits.

Anāthapiṇḍika—Buddha praised Anāthapiṇḍika as the foremost of the donors to the Saṅgha, so he gave him many instructions regarding gifts. He told him not to remain satisfied by merely offering robes, food, medicinal requisites to the monks but he should at the same time cultivate serene pleasure (*pīti*), by which he could remain unaffected by weal or woe due to good or bad deeds.[5] Whatever he might offer to the monks large or small, it should be done with due reverence.[6] A gift of gold, it is said, ensured

[1] *Suttanipatā*, p. 88 ; *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 99.
[2] *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 81.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 239.
[4] *Ibid.*, V, p. 345.
[5] *Aṅguttara*, III, p. 206-7.
[6] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 392.

long life, good colour, happiness, fame and a heavenly existence after death while any gift made one famous, dear to many, and popular among the saints. The most appropriate gift was that made to a recluse when he was coming or going away, to a sick person, and to the famine-stricken people.[1] Princess Sumanā of Kosala raised the question whether there would be any difference in after-life of two persons having similar faith, moral precepts and knowledge, but one a donor (*dāyaka*) and the other a non-donor (*adāyaka*). Buddha replied that both would be born either as a god or as a human being with similar length of life, colour, happiness and fame, the only difference would be that the donor's attainments would be superior to those of the non-donor. If they were reborn as recluses, the donor would get more alms and other charities than the non-donor but when they reached arhathood there would be no difference between them.[2]

Buddha complimented Anāthapiṇḍika by saying that his acquisition of wealth and property, fulfilling the conditions stated above, was good and also because it was made righteously and by hard labour. By the wealth and property thus acquired he could make himself, his wife and sons, employees and friends happy, save his possessions from the dangers of fire, theft, and other dangers, make due offerings to relatives, guests, departed ancestors, rulers, gods, and virtuous recluses. Lastly, he had the satisfaction that he possessed property by which he could perform meritorious acts, keep himself free from debts, and remain

[1] *Aṅguttara.*, II, p. 63 ; III, pp. 41, 42.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 32-33.

pure in deeds, words and thoughts.[1] The above statements show that Buddha appreciated Anāthapiṇḍika though he was a householder with huge wealth and property.

There are also a few general instructions meant for all householders, which are as follows :—(i) They were prohibited from trading in weapons, living beings, meat, wine and poison.[2] (ii) The sons of a family should look after their parents as gods, supply their old teachers with food and drinks, clothes and beds and see to their well being in all respects. Buddha said that the Cātummahārājika gods sent their ministers to enquire on the Uposatha days whether the people were dutiful to their parents or not, and thereby ascertained how many were going to the heavens or to Asūraloka. Sakka (Indra) declared that he had attained the rulership of gods by rendering proper service to his parents in his former existences.[3] (iii) They should avoid malicious talks, speak truthfully and amiably, discard miserliness and remain open-handed in giving gifts to any one seeking them and lastly, (iv) they should suppress anger quickly.[4]

Virtues and vices of women : Visākhā was the foremost of the female donors to the Saṅgha. She built the Pubbārāma monastery also known as the Migāramātupāsāda after the name of Visākhā who was fondly called the mother of Migāra, father-in-law, whom she looked after like a son. Visākhā observed the eight moral precepts mentioned

[1] *Aṅguttara*, II, pp. 63-70.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 208.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 132, 143, 151.
[4] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 228 ; II, p. 235.

above on the three Uposatha days. Buddha one day instructed her to observe the Uposatha like a true disciple of Buddha and not like a cowherd who took account of his cows and thought of what he would eat after the Uposatha, or not like a disciple of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, who discarded even his wearing cloth lest he should cherish the least desire for any object. A true disciple, he said, cogitated on the virtues of the *Triratna*, cleansed his mind from all impurities and realised the eight moral precepts as conducive to heavenly existences.[1] He gave her some general instructions relating to the normal duties and obligations of a good woman. They are as follows : A woman should (i) look after her husband's parents sympathetically, be sweet to them in talks and serve them like a maid-servant, rising from bed before them and going to bed after them, (ii) show them due honour as also to the recluses respected by her husband, (iii) be proficient in utilising the wool or cotton lying in the house, (iv) be cognisant of the works allotted to the servants or other employees of the house, and see that they get their proper food ; (v) take care of whatever wealth or corns that are brought to the house by her husband and never utilise them for her own purpose ; (vi) become a lay-devotee by taking Trisaraṇa ; (vii) observe the five moral precepts ; and (viii) be free from miserliness and open-handed in making charities.[2]

Buddha complimented Nakulamātā as his ideal female lay-devotee. She recounted her virtues to her husband

[1] *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 205-15 ; IV, p. 255.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 267.

when he was very ill and was on the point of death. She advised her husband to die peacefully without any anxiety about her future so that he might enjoy a happy life in the next world. She assured him that she would not be put to difficulty and that she would not falter from her spiritual duties. She said that she knew the art of dealing with cotton as also the art of hair-dressing, and by plying those trades she would be able to maintain herself and her children. She spent sixteen years as a *brahmacāriṇī* to the knowledge of her husband and so there was no likelihood of her taking a second husband. She would devote more time in meeting the Teacher and his monks. She would also continue to observe the precepts, practise mental tranquilization (*ceto-samatha*) and develop greater faith in Buddha. In order to ascertain the veracity of her statements she referred him to the omniscient Teacher. After this talk with his wife, Nakulapitā recovered from illness and approached the Teacher, who praised his wife as one of the best of her female lay-devotees.[1]

Buddha one day heard a great noise in the house of Anāthapiṇḍika and on enquiry found that it was due to Sujātā, the daughter-in-law of Anāthapiṇḍika. In order to educate her, Buddha spoke of seven types of wives, viz., as a (i) killer, (ii) thief, (iii) elderly woman, (iv) mother, (v) sister, (vi) friend and (viii) maidservant. The first type is a very wicked woman, seeking paramours and for the sake of money would go to the length of killing her husband. The second type is in the habit of stealing some-

[1] *Aṅguttara*, III, pp. 295-8.

thing from the husband's earnings, manufactured articles, trading goods, or crops. The third type is idle, unwilling to work, eats too much, is rough, hot-tempered and harsh in talks, and keep control over the earning members of the family. The fourth type is always a well-wisher like the mother to a son and guards her husband and saves his earning. The fifth type is like a bashful sister, respectful to her husband and always seeking good of her husband. The sixth type always tries to be pleasant to the husband as one does to a friend when he meets him after a long time, she is frugal, observant of moral precepts and faithful to her husband. The seventh never gets angry though beaten by deadly rods, remains always free from hatred, has forbearance for her husband and remains under his control.[1] The general characterisation of woman attributed to Buddha is more or less traditional and it may be that Buddha utilised the same for the purpose of training his female lay-devotees.

[1] *Aṅguttara*, IV, p. 92-93.

CHAPTER VIII

GRADUAL COURSE OF TRAINING OF MONKS

BUDDHA was not much interested in the spiritual uplift of the laity. He was convinced that none without embracing the life of a recluse could derive the benefits of his teachings. He in fact persuaded many to leave their homes and become monks. He did not lay down one particular course of training for all of his disciples. He studied the mental inclinations of a disciple and then prescribed a certain course of training for him. There were however certain general rules which could be profitably followed by most of his disciples.

Gaṇaka-Moggallāna-Brāhmaṇa once met Buddha while he was staying at Migāramātupāsāda in Sāvatthi and said that all kinds of training needed a graduated course, e.g., in constructing a building, in study, in mathematical calculations and enquired of him whether there was any graduated course in the training of Buddhist monks. Buddha answered in the affirmative and described the gradual course of training prescribed by him. It is as follows :

(i) A monk is first asked to observe the moral precepts,[1] to abide by all the 227 disciplinary rules codified in the

[1] *Chabbisodhanasutta* (*Majjhima*, III. p. 33 f) :—(a) pāṇātipātā paṭivirato, (b) adinnādānā paṭivirato, (c) virato methunā gāmadhammā, (d) musāvādā paṭivirato, (e) pisuṇāya vācāya paṭivirato, (f) pharusāya

Pātimokkha and to be discreet in his conduct and begging rounds, in short, to be so careful as not to commit the slightest wrong.

(ii) He is then enjoined to exercise control over his sense-organs so that by seeing an object his mind may not be attracted to the characteristics of the object because such attractions lead to the rise of mental impurities such as greed, despair and so forth. Similarly with hearing, smelling, tasting, touching and thinking.[1]

(iii) He is next instructed to take food without causing injury to any being for the bare maintenance of his body, to keep it just fit for leading a pure and holy life and not for embellishing or beautifying his body. He should at the same time bear in his mind that he was going to destroy his old inclinations and to watch that he was not developing new inclinations and that he was living in a pure and good manner.

vācāya paṭivirato, (g) samphapalāpā paṭivirato, (h) bījagāmabhūtagāmasamārambhā paṭivirato, (i) ekabhattiko—paṭivirato vikālabhojanā, (j) uccāsayanā mahāsayanā paṭivirato, (k) jātarūpa-rajatapaṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (l) āmakadhañña-paṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (m) itthi-kumārikā-paṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (n) dāsidāsa-paṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (o) ajelakapaṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (p) kukkuṭa-sūkarapaṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (q) hatthigavassavalavapaṭiggahanā paṭivirato, (r) khettavatthu-paṭiggahanā paṭivirato (s) dutevyapahīnagamanānuyogapaṭivirato, (t) kayavikkaya-paṭivirato, (u) tūlākūtakaṁsakūta-mānakuṭā paṭivirato, (v) ukkoṭana-vañcananikati-sāciyoga-paṭivirato, (w) chedana-vadhabandhana—viparāmosa-ālopasahasākāra-paṭivirato, (x) santuṭṭho kāyaparihārikena cīvarena kucchiparihārikena piṇḍapātena.

[1] Cf. *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 104.

(iv) He is then advised to sit at one place in the circumambulating walk and try to rid his mind of the impurities[1] which cause hindrance to spiritual advancement. He is required to continue the same attempt in the first watch and the third watch of the night. In the second watch he is permitted to sleep lying on his right side with one leg on another but the sleep should be so light that he must keep himself alert to get up whenever required.

(v) He is then instructed to practise the first *satipaṭṭhāna* (smṛtyupasthāna) i.e., to be aware of what is doing physically, never to be absent-minded in any action, be it in extending or contracting his hands, in seeing any object, in eating or drinking, or in passing urine or excrements, or in putting on robes and taking up the bowl, or in standing, stitting, sleeping or remaining awake or silent. (see also p. 184).

(vi) He is then sent to a lonely place, be it a forest or a forest path or the base of a tree, or a hill or a cave, or a cemetery or an open space or a straw heap. There, after finishing his midday meal, he is to sit cross-legged, keeping his body erect and mind alert. While thus sitting he must try to purify his mind of greed, hatred, idleness, arrogance, doubts about the true dhammas.

(vii) Lastly, when his mental impurities have been almost eliminated by knowledge, he is to practise meditation, of which there are four stages :—

(a) Disassociating mind from evils and desires, and then trying to concentrate one's mind on a certain object,

[1] Āvaraṇa=nīvaraṇa=upakkilesa, Cf. *Saṁyutta* V, p. 94. The five nīvaraṇas are kāmacchanda (*abhijjhā*), byāpāda, thīnamiddha, uddhacca-kukkucca, vicikicchā. (see pp. 156, 179).

say, a clod or a circle of earth, or a spot of light coming through a chink. At first one's mind roams (*savitakka-savicāra*=lit. reflection and judgment) around the object of meditation, but the meditator derives the satisfaction that he has almost got rid of evils and desires and is seated in a solitary place.

(b) In the second stage, the meditator's mind does not roam (*avitakka-avicāra*) about but is concentrated on the object of meditation (*cetaso ekodībhāvam*), becomes internally serene, and derives pleasure on account of full concentration.

(c) In the third stage, the meditator's mind is to rise above pleasure caused by acquisition of certain virtues and displeasure caused by the thoughts of impermanence, death and so forth and to attain mental equanimity. He is still inwardly feels happy and remains alert, being watchful of what is passing in his body and mind, and his body feels at ease like that of a person after a deep sleep.

(d) In the fourth stage, the meditator's mind remains undisturbed by any kind of feeling, happy or unhappy, and as he has got rid of all mental impurities, his mind attains perfect equanimity, and remains alert to the subtlest movement of his mind and body. This stage is actually a resultant of the previous three practices and does not confer any further benefits.[1]

(e) After perfecting himself in the meditations, he should try to comprehend the four Truths, viz., suffering, its origin, its removal and the path leading to its removal,

[1] Cf. *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 268; IV, p. 265. For further details of these meditational practices, see Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, I, pp. 242-7.

likewise he should apply his mind to the four impurities (*āsavas*), their origin, removal and the path to their removal and exert to become a *khīṇāsava* or *arhat*, the perfect.

This is, in short, the gradual course of training prescribed for the new entrants. There were, however, many, among the newly admitted monks who were already advanced spiritually and did not need such training.

Buddha personally trained his disciples and kept a very watchful eye on the new entrants into the order. While taking rest after midday meal at Kapilavatthu, it occurred to him that his Saṅgha was growing in number and so it was incumbent upon him that he should look after the new entrants otherwise they would go the wrong way. They should be nurtured as a young plant needs lookig after by a gardener.[1] Puṇṇa Mantāṇiputta, one of the distinguished disciples of Buddha, was complimented by Ānanda as one who was very helpful to the new entrants.[2] Buddha found that his father's sister's son, Tissa, had many failings and so one day he accosted him and gave him necessary instructions.[3] He also corrected his mother's sister's son, Nanda, who used to give attention to his body and robe[4]. He attempted to correct many monks who were arrogant, quarrelsome, distracted and negligent[5].

Gaṇaka-Moggallāna then enquired whether all adepts when trained in this manner attained Nibbāna. Buddha

[1] *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 91.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 105.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, p. 106.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, p. 281.
[5] *Ibid.*, V, p. 269.

admitted that it was not so, but as he was only a guide and a propounder of the path, he allowed many to take to the path but some only advanced up to the Nibbāna stage[1].

It should be noted that the course of training prescribed above does not necessarily lead to Nibbāna. The adepts who have completed this course are then fit to be initiated into the fundamental truths of Buddhism. This is well illustrated in the *Cūla-Rāhulovādasutta*[2]. Buddha while staying at Sāvatthī found that Rāhula had reached a mature stage for attaining emancipation (*paripakko kho Rāhulassa vimuttiparipācanīyā dhammā*) and now he needed training for destroying the subtler impurities (*uttarim āsavānaṃ khaye viññeyyan ti*). He took Rāhula with him to the forest called Andhavana where he had the following conversation :

Buddha : Are eyes (*cakkhu*) permanent or impermanent ?

Rāhula : They are impermanent.

Buddha : Is an impermanent object source of happiness or misery ?

Rāhula : An impermanent object is misery.

Buddha : Is it proper to regard that which is impermanent, subject to change as mine or my soul ?

Rāhula : No, Sir.

Buddha : Is the object seen by the eyes (*rūpa*) or the eye contact (*cakkhu-samphassa*) or the feeling due to eye-contact (*vedanā*) or the perception (*saññā*) or the impressions (*saṃ-*

[1] *Majjhima*, II, p. 1 f.

[2] *Majjhima*, III, p. 227 f ; *Saṁyutta*, IV, p. 106.

khārā) or the knowledge (*viññāṇa*) permanent or impermanent ?

Rāhula : No, Sir.

Buddha then pointed out that a true disciple of his should not have any attachment for the sense-organs and their objects, in other words, all worldly objects. Such detachment led to *virāga,* which, in its turn, freed the mind, and the adept realised that his mind had been completely freed from attachment for worldly objects. He could then be said to have fulfilled his mission and would have no more birth, and had nothing more to do. Rāhula became fully emancipated, an *Arhat*.

In another discourse[1] Buddha explained to Rāhula in the same way as above that the five constituents of a being, viz., material elements (*rūpa*), whether of the past, present, or future, internal or external, gross or subtle, good or bad, distant or proximate are not to be regarded as mine, my self or my soul, so also each of the other constituents, viz., feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), impressions (*saṅkhārā*) and knowledge (*viññāṇa*). The material elements (*rūpa*) have no more existence than the foam (*phenapiṇḍa*) floating on the river Gaṅgā. It has existence no doubt but it has no substance (*rittaka, tucchaka*). Feeling (*vedanā*) is like the bubble in waters seen when it rains in autumn while perception is similar to the mirage seen at noon in the last month of the summer. Impressions (*saṁkhārā*) have no more substance than that found by one

[1] *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 136.

in a plantain tree and lastly knowledge (*viññāṇa*) is like the magic shown by a magician at the cross roads.[1]

This discourse is concluded by the remarks that on the termination of one's span of life (*āyu*), heat (*uṣmā*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*), the body is thrown away senseless for the food of vultures. The continuity of the constituents of a being are matters of talk among the fools ; these have no substance. Those energetic monks, who look upon the *khandhas* as such day and night and are self-reliant, destroy all fetters, and attain the immortal stage. It is the foolish, who identifies soul with one of the *khandhas* and moves round and round about it like an animal turning round and round about the post to which it is tethered and this round has no beginning or end.[2] A wise man must never identify soul with one of the *khandhas* but before he can do it he must get rid of attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). The only means to get rid of these mental impurities is to regard all men and women as so many figures portrayed by a painter on a polished plate. In order to realise that men and women have no more existence than figures of a picture one has to comprehend that the *khandhas* have origin and decay.

[1] *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 142 :

> Phenapindupamaṃ rūpaṁ
> vedanā bubbulūpamā.
> Marīcikupamā saññā
> Saṅkhārā kadalūpamā
> Māyupamañ ca viññāṇaṁ
> dipitādiccabandhunā.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

CHAPTER IX

PRACTICES CONDUCIVE TO NIRVĀṆA

(A) EIGHTFOLD PATH

PATH *to Nirvāṇa or Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*—Whenever any question about the ultimates was placed before Buddha his advice was to shelve those questions, leave them as indeterminable and take to the practices formulated by him, because the answers to those questions would not lead to any good, no' to the pure and holy life, nor to disassociation of the mind from worldly impurities nor to enlightenment and Nibbāna. One should instead try to comprehend the four truths, and take to the practices prescribed by him, in the discourses delivered at the beginning and end of his missionary career at Isipatana, and Kusinārā.

The first discourse delivered by Buddha is the famous "*Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*." This sutta opens with the statement that one should avoid the two extremes, one being the life of a worldly man, performing rituals and ceremonies but at the same time immersed in pleasures and the other the life of a recluse dedicated to self-mortifications. He is to choose a middle path, which will open up the eyes of knowledge and lead a person to the peaceful state and ultimately to enlightenment and *Nirvāṇa* (final emancipation). By the first extreme, evidently he had in mind the rich Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas who indulged in luxuries and sought happiness and heavenly existence through sacrifices performed in a grand manner with heavy

expenses and by killing birds and animals. By the second extreme he meant the non-Brāhmanical ascetics who took to extreme rigorous practices like residing in a forest, living on very scanty food, or starving, or undergoing many other hardships to control their body and mind. A moderate form of asceticism was approved by Buddha but it was not made by him compulsory for all of his disciples. Rejecting the two extreme forms of practices, he recommended that his disciples should have just enough food, clothing and a shelter to maintain their physical strength, which was necessary to perform the duties prescribed by him. He wanted that his disciples should remain unconcerned about their food and clothing and be satisfied with whatever they get by begging without expressing their intention to have any particular food or thing needed by them. For their guidance he laid down elaborate rules codified in the book called *Pātimokkha-sutta*. The middle path which he chalked out for his monk-disciples is as follows :—

Sīla =	Sammāvācā	= Right speech
	Sammākammanto	= Right deeds
	Sammā-ājīva	= Right means of livelihood
Citta =	Sammā vāyāma	= Right exertion
	Sammā sati	= Right mindfulness
	Sammā samādhi	= Right meditation

Paññā = { Sammā saṅkappa = Right resolution
Sammā diṭṭhi[1] = Right view.

This is followed by his formulation of the four truths misery (*dukkham*), origin of misery (*dukkha-samudayam*), end of misery (*dukkha-nirodham*), and the path leading to the end of misery (*dukkhanirodhagāmini paṭipadā*). This is, in short, the contents of the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*.

The terms mentioned above are explained in the Pāli texts thus :—

Sammā vācā = refraining from speaking falsehood, malicious words, harsh and frivolous talk.

Sammā-kammanta = refraining from killing, stealing, and misconduct.

Sammā-ājīva = refraining from earning livelihood by improper means, i.e., arts and crafts of laymen. Some of these are astrological or astronomical forecasts, interpretation of dreams and omens, use of magical spells, determination of the nature of men, animal and things by their signs, acting as go-betweens between kings, taking part in marriage ceremonies, giving medicines and so forth.

Sammā-vāyāma = exertion to remove the existing evil thoughts, to keep the mind free from being polluted by

[1] The eight items are classified under three heads, moral precepts (Śila), mental development (*citta*) and knowledge (*paññā*). Cf. *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 165.

Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño
Cittam paññañ ca bhāvayaṁ
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu
so imaṁ vijataye jataṁ.

fresh evil thoughts, and to preserve and increase the good thoughts.

Sammā-sati=mindfulness of all that is happening within the body and mind including feelings, and observant of things of the world and at the same time suppressing covetousness (*abhijjhā*) and avoiding mental depression (*domanassa*).

Sammās—amādhi= four jhanas described above. (p. 169).

Sammā-saṅkappa=resolution for renunciation, and resolution for refraining from hatred and injury to other beings.

Sammā-diṭṭhi=realisation of the truth that worldly existence is misery, root of such misery, end of such misery and the path leading to the end of such misery. (see p. 180-1).

The eightfold path, as stated above, deals with all the aspects of a spiritual life, viz., ethical, psychological and espistemological. The first three of the list relating to speech, deed, and food comprise a volume of rules embodied in the Nikāyas and Vinaya, in which elaborate directions are given about the proper conduct of the monks. The next three depict the gradual way in which an adept should train up his thoughts and elevate the mind through process of concentration to a state of equanimity so that it may remain undisturbed by weal and woe. After attaining perfection in physical and mental discipline, the adept can expect to develop a mind of complete renunciation of worldly attractions and direct his mind to the comprehension of the four Truths and thereby acquire the right view (*sammā-diṭṭhi*=*samyakdṛṣṭi*).

In the Magga Saṁyutta[1] the eightfold path is described as the spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitta*) and is shown as conferring all the spiritual benefits that a Buddhist adept would desire to have. The benefits are cessation or eradication of :

(i) sufferings due to birth, old age and death ; there are three kinds of sufferings, viz., sufferings as they are (*dukkha*), sufferings transmitted from past life (*saṃskāra-dukkhatā*) and sufferings due to change (*vipariṇāma-dukkhatā*) ;

(ii) attachment (*rāgadvesa*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) ;

(iii) strong desire (*chanda*), reflection (*vitakka*) and perception (*saññā*);

(iv) thirst for worldly objects (*kāma-taṇhā*), for repeated existence (*bhava-taṇhā*) and for self-destruction (*vibhava-taṇhā*) ;

(v) impurities of desire (*kāmāsava*), of re-existence (*bhavāsava*), [i.e., in one of the three spheres as worldly beings (*kāmabhava*), as gods (*rūpa, bhava*) and as higher gods without material body (*arūpabhava*)], of ignorance (*avijjāsava*) and also of wrong views (*diṭṭhāsava*) ;

(vi) strong attachment to worldly objects (*kāmupādāna*), to wrong views (*diṭṭh-upādāna*), to rituals and ceremonies (*sīlabbatupādāna*), and to belief in a self (*attavādupādāna*) ;

[1] *Saṁyutta*, v. p. 64-65

(vii) seven inclinations (*anusaya*), such as attachment (*kāmarāga*) to worldly objects, enmity (*paṭigha*), wrong view (*diṭṭhi*), doubt about the Triratna (*vicikicchā*), pride (*māna*), desire for existence (*bhavarāga*) and ignorance (*avijjā*) ;

(viii) five kinds of pleasures derived through the contact of five sense-organs with their respective objects ;

(ix) five hindrances (*nīvaraṇas*) to nirvāṇa, viz., strong desire (*kāmacchanda*), hatred (*vyāpāda*), slothfulness (*thīnamiddha*), arrogance and suspicions (*uddhacca-kukkucca*), and doubt about the Triratna (*vicikicchā*). Kāmacchanda arises and grows on account of attractive characteristics of objects (*subhanimitta*) while byāpāda for inimical feelings (*paṭigha*), thīnamiddha for sleep, overeating, weakness of mind, uddhaccakkukku for lack of quietness (*avupasama*) and vicikicchā for objects which cause doubt. (see pp. 156, 168 n.)

(x) five lower fetters (*orambhāgiyāni saṁyojanāni*), viz., belief in a self (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), doubt about the Triratna (*vicikicchā*), belief in rituals and ceremonies (*sīlabbata*), strong desire (*kāmacchanda*) and hatred (*byāpāda*) ;

(xi) five higher fetters (*uddhambhāgiyāni saṁyojanāni*), viz., attachment for existence in the Rūpaloka (i.e., gods with physical body), pride (*māna*), arrogance (*uddhacca*) and ignorance (*avijjā*).

In the above enumeration, there are many common

terms classified under different types of impurities of an individual.

The positive benefits, derived through the practice of the eightfold path, when it is accompanied by solitude (*viveka*), detachment (*virāga*), cessation of inclinations (*nirodha*) and sacrifice (*vosagga*) are.

(i) attainment of the four fruits of sanctification (*sāmaññaphalas* i.e., *sotāpatti*, *sakadāgāmī*, *anāgāmī* and *arhatto*.)

(ii) attainment of higher powers (*abhiññā*, see p. 47 n.),

(iii) perfection in the thirty seven dhammas leading to full enlightenment (*bodhi*, see p. 183 f.),

(iv) and lastly, to the realisation of Nibbāna the immortal (*amata*).

(B) FOUR ARIYASACCAS

The second part of the *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta* offers a popular exposition of the four truths. It is as follows :—

The first truth is suffering (*dukkha*) which is caused by birth, old age, disease, death, meeting unfriendly persons, separation from dear ones, not obtaining what one desires, in other words, the five constituents, which form a being, are sources of suffering.

The second truth is origin of suffering (*dukkhasamudaya*). It is due to thirst (*taṇhā-tṛṣṇā*) for worldly objects, thirst for re-existence as desired by the eternalists (Śāśvatavādins) and thirst for self annihilation as sought by the Annihilationists (Ucchedavādins). Any one of such thirst is associated with pleasure and attachment and leads to rebirth.

The third truth is cessation of suffering (*dukkha-nirodha*). It can take place by complete disassociation and detachment from, and eradication of, thirst,

The fourth truth is the path leading to the cessation of suffering (*dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā*). It consists of the eightfold practices detailed above.

The exposition given above, as is found in the *Mahāvagga* (p. 10), is meant for the people in general. *Dukkha* in fact does not bear the ordinary meaning, viz., the woes of the world, as is sometimes found in the texts. It means really any form of so-called existence in this world whether as an animal, as a human being, as a god, or even as a Brahmā. The implied sense is that whatever a being possesses in this world, be it health, wealth, property, sons or daughters, kingship of men or gods, even higher supernatural powers, is subject ultimately to decay. Nothing in this world is ever existing and so one should eschew everything which is impermanent (*anitya*) and seek for the eternal Truth, which is ever existing (*nitya*). By "*dukkha*" therefore is meant "existence in this world with concomitant pleasures and pain" which are without real substance (*anatta*), and are impermanent (*anicca*). By *sammā-diṭṭhi* is meant the realisation of "*dukkha*" as explained above. The second truth "*dukkhasamudaya*" means the cause of worldly existences, i. e., thirst with its pleasures and sufferings. The third truth "*dukkhanirodha*" means Nibbāna, i.e., when the flow of worldly existences ceases absolutely. The fourth truth "*dukkha-nirodhagāminīpaṭipadā*" refers to the eightfold path, dealt with above (p. 175) and which, it is believed, not only puts an end to all impermanent

worldly existences and consequent sufferings but also leads to final emancipation, *Nibbāna*.

It should be observed that the four truths, as explained above, are really not the truths for common men. It is for this reason they are always called *Ariyasacca* (*Āryasatya*) indicating by the qualifying word "*ariya*" that these are truths only for those who have advanced spiritually and are in possession of one of the fruits of sanctification, *sotāpatti*, *sakadāgāmī*, *anāgāmī* and *arhatta* (see p. 189 n.). All monks are not necessarily "*ariyas*." Many of them are "*puthujjanas*," i.e., common men with impurities. Only those who have at least reached the Sotāpatti stage is called an "*ariya*." Unless an individual is an "*ariya*," he cannot realise that the possession of wealth and property, sons and daughters is suffering.

(C) ANATTALAKKHANASUTTA

The second discourse delivered by Buddha to the five Brāhmanas is the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*. Buddha denied the existence of a permanent self and argued that if self (*attā*) be not identical with material constituents of the body (*rūpa*), then the self could dictate that let *rūpa* have no illness, or let *rūpa* be such and such, or let it not be such and such, but that is not possible. *Rūpa* is impermanent (*anicca*) and so, it is a source of misery (*dukkha*). But if self (*attā*), according to the non-Buddhists be real, permanent and happy (*nitya, sukha*) and *rūpa* be associated with pain and suffering then how can *rūpa* be associated with *attā*, from which *rūpa* is different in inherent characteristics, and hence *rūpa* must not be associated with *attā*.

It follows from the above that the mass of *rūpa*, internal or external, past, present or future, gross or subtle, is neither I nor Mine. The above argument applied to *rūpa* is equally applicable to the other four constituents, viz., feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), impressions (*saṁkhārā*,) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*). Realising this, the wise man does not have any attachment for them (*virāga*). From such non-attachment develops his mental emancipation (*vimutti*). He then realises that he is emancipated and his impurities are extinct and he would have no more rebirth. On hearing this discourse, the five Brāhmaṇas became fully emancipated and attained *arhathood.*

(D) THIRTY SEVEN BODHIPAKKHIYA DHAMMAS

In his last days as also on many other occasions,whenever Buddha apprehended any difference of opinion among his disciples, he said that all his disciples should accept the thirty seven *Bodhipakkhiya Dhammas* divided into seven groups as containing his whole teachings, even if they disagreed on other matters. It is not necessary that an adept should fulfil all the seven categories of the thirty seven dhammas for the attainment of emancipation, as it will be enough if one or two of them are fully practised. Each of the seven categories deals in fact with all the practices needed for attaining the *summum bonum* and hence it will be found that many of the dhammas are almost identical though they carry a meaning which is in consonance with the title of the group, e.g., the lists of dominant faculties (*indriyas*) and of mental strength (*balas*) are identical but one group carries a meaning slightly different from the other.

I. The first group of practices is called the *Satipaṭṭhānas* (=Sans. *Smṛtyupasthāna*) or mindfulness, or alertness or awareness of what is happening in one's body (*kāya*), feeling (*vedanā*), mind (*citta*), and of what are his acquisitions (*dhamma*). This group of practices has been highly praised by the Teacher as the single best path (*ekayāna*) for attaining emancipation, and has been dealt with exhaustively in two suttas of the Digha[1] and Majjhima[2] Nikāyas, as also in many other places.[3] There are four *Satipaṭṭhānas*, which are as follows :—

(i) *Kāya-satipaṭṭhāna*—For practising this, an adept should be observant of whatever is happening in his body, e.g., in inhaling and exhaling, in sitting, lying or standing, in extending or contracting his limbs, and so forth. He has also to ponder over the contents of his body and the different states of the body when left in a cemetery. Lastly, he has to bear always in mind that his body is subject to origin and decay. (see also p. 168).

(ii) *Vedanā-satipaṭṭhāna*—In this practice, the adept should be closely observant of his feeling, that is to say, whether it is pleasant or painful, or neither pleasant nor unpleasant, again, whether it is impure or pure, and so forth. Lastly, he is to bear in mind that it is subject to origin and decay.

(iii) *Citta-satipaṭṭhāna*—In this practice, the adept should ascertain whether his mind is free or not free

[1] *Digha*, II : *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttanta*.
[2] *Majjhima*, I, p. 55 : *Satipaṭṭhānasutta*.
[3] *Saṁyutta*, V, p. 141 f.

of attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), and delusion (*moha*), further, whether it is contracted (*saṅkhitta*) or distracted (*vikhitta*), high or low, and so forth. Lastly as with the previous *satipaṭṭhānas* he must bear in mind that it is subject to origin and decay.

(iv) *Dhamma-satipaṭṭhāna*—In this practice, the adept has to find out whether he has got rid of the hindrances (*nīvaraṇas*, see p. 179.) or not, how the origin and decay of the constituents of a being take place, whether he is in possession of the higher acquisitions like *sambojjhaṅgas* (see p. 190-2), four truths and such other *dhammas*.

II. The second group of practices is called the *Sammappadhānas* (= *Samyak-prahāṇa*) or right exertions, efforts. The duties prescribed under this are same as *sammā vāyāma* (p.176-7) of the eightfold path, viz., to eradicate demerits, to collect merits and to preserve and increase the merits.

III. The third group of practices is called *Iddhipādas* (Sans. *Ṛddhipāda*) or attainment of supernormal powers by the following four means :

(a) Chanda-samādhi-padhāna-saṁkhāra (=Sans. Chanda-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṁskāra), i.e., to develop a strong desire for perfecting oneself in the four forms of meditations.

(b) Viriya-samādhi-padhāna-saṁkhāra (= Sans. Vīrya-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṁskāra), i.e., application of energy for perfection in the four meditations.

(c) Citta-samādhi-padhāna-saṁkhāra (=Sans. Citta-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṁskāra), i.e., application of mind to cultivate the four meditations, and

(d) Vimaṁsā-samādhi-padhāna-saṁkhāra (=Sans. Mīmāṁsā-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṁskāra), i.e., examination and discrimination of the mental factors accompanying the meditations.

The adept should observe that each of these four practices of his is not feeble or clogged by idleness and arrogance. At the same time he must bear in mind that his exertion is not hampered by arrogance or by sensual pleasures. While undergoing these exertions, the adept rises above all distinctions of time and place or day and night and remains also mindful of the contents of his body.

These practices, it is said, confer many miraculous powers, of which there is a long list in the *Nikāyas*, e.g., he can rise and walk in air as if on land, he can dive into the earth as if in water, he can pass through a wall or any material obstruction, and so forth.

IV. The fourth group of practices is called *Indriyas*[1] or dominant factors or forces. These are as follows :—

(a) *Saddhindriyam* (= Sans. *Śraddhendriya*) or the dominant faculty or factor of faith. An adept is required to develop firm faith in Buddha as the fully enlightened, wise, world-knower, the excellent guide of

[1] In the Buddhist texts, fine distinction is made of the faculties by the terms : *dhātu*, *āyatana* and *indriya*. When a faculty or sense-organ, say, *cakkhu* (eye) is not functioning, e.g., in sleep, it is called simply *dhātu*, in this case, *Cakkhu-dhātu*. The scope of the faculty or sense-organ is called *āyatana*, as is any material object (*rūpa*) of the eyes (*cakkhu*), in this case it is *Cakkhāyatana*. When the faculty or sense-organ is functioning, it is called "*indriya*" i.e., a person applies his eyes to see an object, in this case, *cakkh-indriya*.

men and gods, and so forth. This faith is also extended to the Dhamma and Saṅgha. The acquisition of faith in the Triratna is the minimum condition for an adept rising to the first stage of sanctification called *sotāpatti* (i.e., one who enters into the stream to attain nibbāna). By this practice is eliminated "*vicikicchā*" (doubt) about the Triratna.

(b) *Viriyindriyam* (=Sans. *Vīryendriya*) or the dominant faculty or factor of energy. An adept is required to be highly energetic and exerting for eradicating demerits, acquiring merits and preserving and developing the acquired merits. It is the same as *Sammappadhāna* or *Sammā-vāyāma* (see above, p. 185).

(c) *Satindriyam* (Sans. *Smṛtīndriya*) or the faculty of memory. An adept should possess good memory and be able to remember acts done, or words uttered long ago. By the exercise of this faculty, the adept is also required to practise the four *satipaṭṭhānas*.

(d) *Samādhindriyam* or the dominant faculty, which brings about concentration of thoughts and makes the adept rise higher and higher in meditations. One of its conditions is full dedication of oneself to this practice (*vossagga*). It is the same as the practice of four *jhānas* (*dhyānas*), detailed above (p. 169).

(e) *Paññindriyam* (= Sans. *Prajñendriya*) or the dominant faculty of intellect. By applying his intellect the adept becomes aware of what he is coming within his knowledge and what he should do away with. Its

main function is to make the adept realise the four truths : *dukkha, samudaya, nirodha* and *magga* (p. 180-1).[1]

The above mentioned five faculties differ from one adept to another and become a deciding factor in the gradation of the adepts in different stages of sanctification.[2]

V. The fifth group of practices is called *Balas* or internal strength, prowess. The five terms constituting

[1] The above-mentioned group of Indriyas is concerned with faculties which are active, hence the term "*indriya*" has been used. According to the Buddhists there are as many as twenty-two faculties (*indriyas*). These are :—

(a) Six sense-organs : eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind.

(b) Three factors of a living being : vital principle (*jīvitindriya*), masculinity (*purusindriya*), femininity (*itthindriya*).

(c) Five mental faculties : pleasure (*sukhindriya*), pain (*dukkhindriya*), happiness (*somanassindriya*), unhappiness (*domanassindriya*), neither pleasure nor displeasure (*upekkhindriya*). The first two relate to body, the next two to mind, and the last one to both body and mind. Each of these faculties has particular basis (*nimitta*), cause (*nidāna*), condition (*paccaya*) and inciter (*saṁkhāra*). *Dukkhindriya* is eliminated by the first meditation, *domanassindriya* by the second, *sukhindriya* by the third, *somanassindriya* by the fourth meditation, while *upekkhindriya* is eliminated by an adopt when he rises up to the last stage of meditation; viz., *saññāvedayitanirodha* (in which consciousness is almost extinct).

(d) Three intellectual faculties, viz., the faculty impelling a person to know what is unknown to him (*anaññātaññassāmītindriyam* = Sans. *anajñāta-ājñāsyāntiti indriyaṁ*) ; the faculty which impels a person to acquire perfection in knowledge (*aññindriyam* = Sans. *ājñā*-+*indriyam*) ; and the faculty which leads to acquisition of all knowledge, perfect knowledge (*aññātāvindriyam* = Sans. *ājñātāvīndriyam*), and lastly

(e) Five dominant mental factors or forces detailed above in the fourth group.

[2] The highest stage of sanctification is Arhathood, in which all impurities become extinct (*khīṇāsava*). The stages in a gradually

the *Balas* are the same as *Indriyas,* viz., Faith (Energy (*Viriya*), Memory (*Sati*), Meditation (*Samādhi*) and Knowledge (*Paññā*). The main difference between "dominant faculty (indriya)" and "strength (bala)" is that the former is actively operating and does not necessarily remain the same for all times while the latter is the result of the activity of the faculty, and so it is steady and makes the adept firmly established in the dominant faculty, i.e., the dominating faculty changes into the steady strength or prowess.

descending order are as follows : (1) *Arhats* (perfect) ; (2) *Antarāparinibbāyī* = those of the Anāgāmīs who attain Nibbāna in the middle of their lives while living as gods. (3) *Upahaccaparinibbāyī*=those of the Anāgāmīs, who attain Nibbāna a little before the end of their lives. (4) *Asaṅkhāraparinibbāyī*=those of the Anāgāmis, who attain Nirvāna with little exertion. (5) *Sasaṅkhāraparinibbāyi*=those of the Anāgāmīs, who attain Nibbāna with great exertion. (6) *Uddhaṁsoto-Akaniṭṭhagāmī*=those of the Anāgāmis, who rise from one heaven to another and attain Nibbāna while living in the Akaniṭṭha heaven. (7) *Sakadāgāmī* =those who will be reborn once more in this world to attain Nibbāna. (8) *Ekabīji*=those of the Sakadāgāmīs who will be reborn only once in the Kāmadhātu to attain Nibbāna. (9) *Kolaṁkola*= those of the Sakadāgāmīs who will be born more than once among the gods of the Kāmadhātu (*devakulaṅkula*) but those who will be born once at least as a human being are called (*manuṣya-kulaṅkula*). The lowest stage of sanctification is (10) *Sotāpanna* or *Sattakkhattuparama*=one who will be reborn seven times more in this world to attain Nibbāna. Among the Sotāpannas there are two categories, one is called (11) *Saddhānusārī*=those who depend more on faith than on knowledge, and the other is called (12) *Dhammānusārī*=those who are more intellectual and depend more on knowledge than on faith. (For further details see infra p. 192 and also Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 250, 263, 268 ; *Kośa,* III).

Like all other practices, the *Balas* should be accompanied by solitude (*viveka*), non-attachment (*virāga*), decay (*nirodha*), and dedication of oneself to the acquisition (*vossagga*) of strength. These *balas*, when attained, serve as an antidote to the higher fetters (*uddhambhāgiya-samyojanas*, see p. 179) and become a stepping stone to Nibbāna.

VI. The sixth group of practices, called the *Sambojjhaṅgas* (Sans. *Sambodhyaṅga*), acquisitions leading to full enlightenment (*bodhāya samvattantī ti sambojjhaṅga*), has been highly praised by Buddha as the seven jewels (*ratnas*) like Cakravarti-ratnas of the fully Enlightened. These practices destroy the impurities (*āsavas*, of *kāma*, *bhava*, *diṭṭhi*) and neutrialise the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇas*), leading the adept to attain knowledge (*vijjā*) and emancipation (*vimutti*), in other words, the adept becomes an arhat (*khīṇāsava*) and realises that he has accomplished his task and would have no more rebirth (*khīṇā jāti, kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ nāparaṁ itthattāya*). The condition precedent to the acquisition of *sambojjhaṅga* is that the adept must be perfect in moral precepts (śīla), which are to serve as his support like the earth to the tree (*sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño cittam paññañ ca bhāvayam*) and then he should take the eightfold path (aṭṭhaṅgika magga) as his spiritual guide (kalyāṇa-mitta).

This group of practices is arranged in such a way that one is a stepping stone to the next and may well be compared to the rise of a meditator from the first to the fourth meditation (*dhyānajhāna*).

(i) *Sati-sambojjhaṅga* (*Smṛti-sambodhyaṅga*). Its acquisition is to be made in the same way as the four satipaṭṭhāna prac-

tices (detailed above p. 184-5), which are practically a form of meditation. The adept is expected to have advanced far in observing moral precepts (*sīla*), in practising meditation (*samādhi*), in acquiring knowledge (*paññā*) as also in mental emancipation (*vimutti*) from worldly objects and in deeper insight and realisation of what is emancipation (*vimutti-ñāṇa-dassana*). In addition to those, he is also to develop his memory in such a way that after listening to discourses he should go to a solitary place and cogitate over the topics preached to him.

(ii) *Dhammavicaya—sambojjhaṅga* or discrimination (*vicaya*) about practices, acquisitions, removals, etc., which come under the term "*dhamma*," in other words, the adept is to examine whether the "dhammas" he has to deal with are good or bad, pure or impure, excellent or not, black or white and so forth. After listening to a discourse he is expected to analyse the topics and their implications while sitting at a solitary place for the purpose of perfecting himself in *satisambojjhaṅga*.

(iii) *Viriya–sambojjhaṅga* or Energy. It grows on account of application (*ārambha*) of one's energy and exertion in every possible manner (*nikamma* and *parakkama*). It is similar to *Viriyindriya* as explained above. (p. 187).

The only addition is that the adept, after listening, to a discourse and after discrimination, is to apply his energy to concentration of thoughts (*bhāvanā*) on the topics of the discourses.

(iv) *Pīti-sambojjhaṅga* or serene pleasure and joy. This in fact is a result of the previous three accquisitions. It is the same process as explained above (p. 169) in the case of

the third meditation in which an adept after elimination of reflection (*vitakka*) and judgment (*vicāra*) derives pleasure. In the previous *sambojjhaṅga* he exerts for meditation (*bhāvanā*) and on account of success in it, he has the next acquisition (*pīti*).

(v) *Passaddhi-sambojjhaṅga* or the state of mental tranquility or calmness. The four previously mentioned acquisitions particularly "*pīti*" lead to tranquilization of both body and mind.

(vi) *Samādhi-sambojjhaṅga* or meditation. The previous acquisition "*passaddhi*" leads to concentration of thoughts, quietude (*samatha*) and a mental steadiness.

(vii) *Upekkhā-sambojjhaṅga* or equanimity. As explained above (p. 169) like the fourth *jhāna,* it confers equanimity of mental state which remains undisturbed by any acquisition or non-acquisition.

These seven practices were recommended by the Teacher to the sick monks for getting over their illness. Those who perfect themselves in these *bojjhaṅgas* become very popular and can satisfy others by discourses and expositions. They attain the stage of Anāgāmī, either an *Antarāparinibbāyi* or *Upahaccaparinibbāyi* or *Uddhamsoto Akaniṭṭhagāmi*. Ultimately they bring to an end the three impurities, viz., attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). They sometimes cultivate these practices along with the four brahmavihāras, viz., love (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy at other's uccess (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*).

CHAPTER X

PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS

(A) THE LAW OF CAUSATION

(*Paṭiccasamuppāda* = *Pratītyasamutpāda*)

THE law of causation is regarded as one of the fundamental teachings of Buddhism. Buddha, it is said, discovered this law in the night, in which he attained full enlightenment (bodhi). After his mind had become fully emancipated he struck upon the truth underlying the appearance of the phenomenal universe. He then formulated the causal nexus in the direct order, which explained how beings of the world originated and became subject to sufferings on account of impermanence and again how by elimination of each of the causal nexus the repeated existences of a being and its consequent sufferings could be brought to an end leading to the attainment of Nibbāna. The causal law established the fact that repeated existences of a being associated with sufferings depended on certain causes (*hetu*) and conditions (*pratyaya*) and not on the God the creator, not on an eternal substance like Prakṛti, not on eternally existing atoms or ions (*aṇu*, *paramāṇu*), not on an unchangeable and imperishable soul (*Brahman* or *Ātman*), not on accidents without any cause and lastly not on an unalterably fixed series of existences (*niyati*).

This law exposed the futility of speculations as to whether the world was eternal (*śāśvata*) or non-eternal

(*uccheda*), whether it had a beginning (*pūrvānta*) or an end (*aparānta*), whether it was limited (*antavān*) or unlimited (*anantavān*) and so forth. The word "*samutpāda*," according to Buddhaghoṣa, dismissed the theory of annihilationism (*natthitā*) which the Teacher rejected along with its opposite, the theory of eternality (*atthitā*). This law put an end to the questions "what I was, what I am, and what I shall be," i.e., any notion about the existence of a self and its continuity. Thus it counteracted all the philosophical thoughts prevalent in Buddha's days, viz., Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Jaina or Ājīvika. It established once for all that the phenomenal world originated and decayed under the inexorable law of cause and effect which operated in a being every moment (*kṣaṇika*) and so the change in every worldly being is momentary, in other words, a living being, as also any worldly object, is in a state of continuous flux. In one moment again which is almost inconceivable, there are three sub-divisions, viz., origin (*utpatti*), continuity (*sthiti*) and decay (*vyaya*), hence it can well be imagined how quickly and incessantly this change takes place and this constant change clearly proves that there is nothing in it which could be grasped as an eternal substance. It is by the realisation of this fact that a being gets rid of all worldly attachments and its mind becomes completely emancipated and remains no more subject to rebirth. It then reaches the state called Nibbāna which is absolutely uncaused and unconditioned (*apratītyasamutpanna*) comparable only to *Ākāśa* (open space). As *Ākāśa* (open space) is obtained not by any exertion but by the removal of all obstructions like mountains, trees, buildings and all

that obstructs one's views so also Nirvāṇa is not to be obtained(*prāpti*)by any amount of exertion but by removing the hindrances which hamper the freedom of mind like wrong views, mental impurities, philosophical speculations, etc. Nirvāṇa is not a state to be attained, but appears automatically to a person who is able to disabuse his mind of all false notions by comprehending the law of causation. Thus it is evident that the comprehension of the law of causation is all that is needed to realise Nirvāṇa or the Truth or to become a Buddha. This idea has been expressed clearly in the following expressions :—

Yo pratītyasamutpādam paśyati, so dharmaṁ paśyati. Yo dharmaṁ paśyati sa buddhaṁ paśyati. (One who realises the law of dependent origination visualises the Truth. He who visualises the Truth sees the Buddha).

Utpādād vā tathāgatānāṁ anutpādād vā tathāgatānāṁ sthitāiveyaṁ dharmatā dharmasthititā dharmaniyāmatā tathatā avitathatā ananyatathatā bhūtatā satyatā tattvaṁ aviparītatā viparyastatety evamādi bhagavan-Maitreya-vacanaṁ (*Kośavyākhyā*, III. 41).

[It is truly said by Bhagavān Maitreya that the origin or non-origin or continuity of the Tathāgata is the same (has no difference) with phenomenal objects, it is synonymous with continuity, natural law, sameness, correctness, changelessness, truth, veracity, factness, irreversibility and non-delusiveness).

Of the above mentioned two passages the first points out that the true realisation of the nature of phenomenal objects leads automaticaly to the visualisation of the Truth, the Buddha, while the second passage tells us that

if the Tathāgata be conceived as a constituted person like Gautama Buddha though an absolutely purified being then like all phenomenal objects he becomes subject to origin, continuity and decay, but if he be regarded as the unconstituted, which in fact he has become by the realisation of the Truth, it is futile to speak of his origin, continuity or decay.

In Buddhist philosophy it is taken for granted that all worldly objects are constituted (*saṁskṛta*) and Nirvāṇa or Buddha or Tathāgata and Ākāśa are unconstituted (*asaṁskṛta*). Now the law of dependent origination is applicable to constituted beings only and so if one comprehends what is a constituted being, the unconstituted truth or the reality becomes apparent to him, as *ākāśa* (open space) becomes apparent to one when the obstructing objects are removed.

What the Buddhist philosophy wants to establish is that with our limited vision and knowledge it is not at all possible to ascertain the nature of the transcendental (*lokottara*), the unconstituted (*asaṁskṛta*), the ultimate existence (*bhūtakoṭī*), the Truth but it is not difficult to realise that the worldly objects are nothing more than a chaff or mirage, evanescent and absolutely devoid of any substance. This law of causation has been formulated to help a being to comprehend the latter state of things directly and that comprehension clears the mind of all false notions and makes it like a mirror to reflect the truth, for which no extra or separate exertion is needed.

Nāgārjuna has however utilised this formula with a different end in view. He argues that reals are ever exist-

ents and unreals are non-existents and there can be no *via media* between the two as temporary existents, which, according to him, are self-contradictory. Taking his stand on this hypothesis he argues that the cause must remain unchanged in the fruit, and as that is not possible there can be no caused and conditioned effect. In his estimation Nirvāṇa is the only real as it is uncaused and unconditioned whereas the worldly objects which are caused and conditioned are mere mental creations (*prapañca*) and have no existence whatsoever. He has thus utilised the formula to establish the non-existence of worldly objects (*dharma-śūnyatā*) similar to the theory of illusion (*māyāvāda*) of the Vedāntists. To justify that the formula "*asmin sati idam bhavati*" was enunciated by Buddha himself, he says that it refers mainly to the relative but apparent existence of phenomenal objects as long and short, black and white, wood and chair, Rāma and Śyāma. The worldly objects have mere different nomenclature (*prajñapti*) but form really one substance which he has termed *Śūnyatā*, an attributeless substratum. The twelve-linked formula was enunciated by the Teacher to help ignorant beings to realise the ultimate oneness of all phenomenal objects.

The above radical interpretation of Nāgārjuna is not accepted by the earlier schools of Buddhism. Buddhaghoṣa and Vasubandhu, and the authors of the Abhidharma treatises have explained in detail all the links of the formula, which runs thus :—

Avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā, saṅkhārapaccayā viññānaṁ, viññānapaccayā nāmarūpaṁ, nāmarūpapaccayā salāyatanaṁ, salāyatanapaccayā phasso, phassapaccayā vedanā, vedanāpaccayā

taṇhā, taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṁ, upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhavapaccayā jāti, jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇaṁ sokaparideva-dukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanti. Evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti. Avijjāya tv eva asessa-virāganirodhā saṅkhāranirodho, saṅkharanirodhā viññāṇanirodho, viññāṇanirodhā nāmarūpanirodho, and so forth up to jātinirodhā jarāmaraṇaṁ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā nirujjhanti. Evam etassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hoti.

The twelve links in the formula are divided into three sections thus :—

Anterior life (*Pūrvānta*)—Ignorance and impressions (*avidyā* and *saṁskāra*).

Present life (*Madhya*)—Consciousness (*vijñāna*), name and form (*namarūpa*), six organs of sense (*ṣaḍāyatana*), contact (*sparśa*), feeling (*vedanā*), thirst (*tṛṣṇā*), strong attachment (*upādāna*), and desire for re-existence (*bhava*).

Next life (*Aparānta*)—Rebirth (*jāti*), old age, death, grief, lamentation, mental sufferings and disappointment (*śoka-paridevana-duḥkha-daurmanasya-upāyāsa*).

Another form of classification is as follows :—

Impurities (*kleśa*)—*Avidyā, tṛṣṇā, upādāna.*

Results (*karma*)—*Saṁskāra, bhava.*

Bases (*vastu*)—*Vijñāna, nāmarūpa, ṣaḍāyatana, sparśa, vedanā, jāti, jarāmaraṇa.*

The terms are explained thus :—

Avijjā (= *Avidyā*) primarily means non-realisation of the ultimate truth, *bodhi* or *nirvāṇa*, non-realisation of soullessness (*anātman*) of worldly beings and of their impermanence (*anitya*), which is the cause of suffering

(*dukkha*), and non-realisation of the four Āryasatyas which include the law of causation and the eight-fold path. Such non-realisation of the fundamental principles of Buddhism causes delusion (*moha*), which produces in its turn attachment (*rāga*) and hatred (*dveṣa*), the three stumbling blocks in the life of a human being and the causes of all his sufferings. *Avidyā* should not be regarded as mere absence (*abhāva*) of knowledge because *abhāva* cannot be a productive cause, so *avidyā* should be taken to mean impurities like attachment, hatred and delusion which are positive factors causing *saṃskāra* (wrong impressions).

Saṃkhārā (*Saṃskāra*). These owe their origin to non-realisation (*avidyā*) of the fundamental truths as it causes mental creations such as merit (*puṇya*), demerit (*apuṇya*) and neither merit nor demerit (*āneñja*). If such mental creations remain firmly rooted in one's mind till the end of one's life, they are called *saṃskāras*. These *saṃskāras* are also the resultants of one's deeds performed through his whole life, that is, these are *karmaic* effects which shape the future of the reborn being. The above two items are relegated to past life (*pūrvānta*).

The present life (*madhya*) commences with *viññāṇa* (*vijñāna*) which according to the Kośa (III. 28) means that particular mental factor which causes rebirth (*pratisandhi-vijñāna*) it is also an aspect of mind (*manovijñāna*), one of the six sense-cognitions.

This mental factor produces in its turn the other mental factors, viz., feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*) and impressions (*saṃkhārā*) as also the five sense-cognitions

(*pñaca indriya-vijñāna*), all of which are collectively termed *nāma* from root *nam* = to bend, to direct the mind to the object. Again mental states cannot remain without some objective support and so they need *rūpa* or material constituents of a being like flesh, blood, bone, etc. The mental resultants of previous existence therefore bring forth a new being which starts its life in the womb, in a nascent form and is being fed and grown by the mother's blood. While remaining and growing in the womb the combination of mind and matter (*nāma-rūpa*) develops the organs of sense which however for the lack of their respective spheres of action remain inactive.

The six sense-organs of the being, after it issues out of the womb or the egg, come into contact (*phassa* = *sparśa*) with their respective external objects of six kinds and produce in their turn feelings (*vedanā*), which may be good, bad or indifferent. The feelings according to their nature cause thirst (*tṛṣṇa*) of different types, viz., desire for worldly objects (*kāma-tṛṣṇā*), desire for re-existence (*bhavatṛṣṇā*) in one of the three spheres, and desire for end of one's existence (*vibhava-tṛṣṇā*), the second desire is confined to those who are eternalists (*śāśvatavādins*) and the third to those who are annihilationists (*ucchedavādins*). Thirst of any kind leads to stronger attachment (*upādāna*) for the desired objects as also firm adherence to certain wrong views. It literally means strong desire to obtain objects not in one's possession (*chanda*) and to retain and preserve the objects which are already in his possession (*rāga*). It is said to be of four types, viz., attachment for worldly objects (*kāma*), adherence to wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*) and beliefs in the efficacy

of ritualistic or ascetic practices (*śīla-vrata*), and belief in the existence of a permanent self (*ātman*). It leads to re-existence (*bhava*, i.e., *punarbhava*) in one of the three spheres, Kāma, Rūpa and Arūpa.

The next life is denoted by the last two links, viz., desire for birth (*Jāti*), old age and death (*jarāmaraṇa.*) They do not actually represent any consecutive series but only indicate that the chain of causation restarts and so strictly speaking *bhava* should lead to consciousness for rebirth (*pratisandhivijñāna*), which causes inception of another existence, followed by the inevitable consequences, grief, old age and death.

Of the twelve links of the causal law the middle eight from *viññāṇa* to *bhava* are arranged in a series and explain the present life, the first two and the last two links are taken for granted as indicative, of a being's past and future existences which are admitted in Buddhism.

(B) THE KAMMA THEORY

It has been mentioned (p. 138) above that Buddha laid great stress on the effects of *Karma* in regulating an individual's future. This position is also accepted by the Brāhmaṇas, but the Buddhists offer a different line of reasoning for the transmission of one's Karmaic effects to another existence, on account of their non-recognition of the existence of a permanent self.

The Buddhists do not recognise either that "one does an act and he reaps its fruit, or one does an act and another reaps its fruit" (*so karoti so paṭisaṁvedayati, or añño karoti añño paṭisaṁvedayati*).[1]

[1] *Saṁyutta*, II, p. 75-6.

As the Buddhists do not admit the existence of a permanent entity as soul, they cannot subscribe to the view that the identical person reaps the fruits of his actions and neither do they accept the other view as stated above. They state that an individual is in a state of continuous flux, that is, all his five constituents, viz., material elements (*rūpa*) and mental states consisting of feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), impressions (*saṅkhārā*), and knowledge derived through the sense-organs (*viññāṇa*) are changing every moment and so it is not correct to say that the identical being reaps the fruits of its actions. The being which performed an act has changed by the time he was going to reap the fruits but it is not altogether a different being.

The Buddhist theory of *kamma* is linked up with their doctrine of momentariness (*kṣaṇikatva*) and the law of causation. The Buddhists hold that the beings and things of the world are in a state of ceaseless flux and for any two moments they cannot remain identical. Again it is the decay of the state of the first moment that gives rise to the state of the second moment, e.g., out of the decay only of a seed that a sprout can appear and the relation of the seed to the sprout is neither one of identity nor of complete difference, because the qualities of the seed are transmitted to the sprout modified however by the other conditions such as nature of earth, water, gardener, etc. This position might have been acceptable to some Brāhmaṇic philosophers if the Buddhists had separated soul from body and regarded the soul as an unchangeable entity. The Buddhists however deny the unchangeability of the soul, even if there be any in a being, for according to them, soul or individuality

(*puggala*) is indissolubly tied with the five constituents and has no independent existence apart from them. In explaining the theory of *kamma*, they usually resort to illustrations. They argue that a small lighted match is the cause of a huge fire but can one say that the two fires are identical or totally different, similarly a mango seed is not identical with the fruits of the tree that has grown out of it. They, therefore, conclude that it is wrong to say '*so karoti so paṭisaṁvedayati, or añño karoti añño paṭisaṁvedayati*, which are the two extreme views, discarded by Buddha, the promulgator of the middle view which according to him, is "*na ca so na ca añño*" (it is neither the same nor different). An individual no doubt reaps the fruits of his deeds but his *karma* produces its effect then and there, as is established by the law of causation and effects a change in his constituent elements and this change may be for good or bad, e.g., the killing of an animal may make a man a greater killer or may turn him into a saint. Aṅgulimāla became a saint after killing ninetynine persons. The seed of a sour mango may, in certain circumstances and conditions, produce a sweet mango. Hence the Buddhists do not admit that the recompense of deeds comes exactly in the same way as the act was done. In this interpretation of the theory of *kamma* lies the fundamental difference between the Brāhmanic and Buddhist beliefs.

(C) NON-SOUL THEORY (ANATTA)

In the discourses delivered by Buddha to Rāhula and in the Anattalakkhaṇasutta, it has been shown that the five constituents of a being have only an apparent existence—they

are all unsubstantial, unreal and disintegrate when the span of life (*āyu*), heat (*uṣmā*) and consciousness (viññāṇa) reach the end. There is no sixth substance as soul (*atta = ātman*) in a being. When the five constituents (*khandhas*) form a being, they become Upādāna-khandha, in other words, a certain amount of each of the five elements combine to form a being. This combination takes place not at the instance of a Creator (Īśvara) but by the law of causation as a tree growing in a forest puts forth flower and then seeds,[1] which fall to the ground to grow again, provided the conditions necessary for the new growth are present or forthcoming. In this chain of repeated existences there is no such thing as soul (*ātman*), as we do not care to trace an *ātman* in the natural growth of a tree in a forest, though the characteristics of the old tree persist in the new tree grown out of its seed.

There are, in the *Nikāyas*, several discourses, in which an attempt has been made to establish that there is in the world nothing which is not impermanent (*anicca*) and hence not unsubstantial (*anatta*), not excluding the five constituents of a being. Hence to regard any one of them as soul is wrong, neither all of them taken together can be a soul nor is there, beyond the five constituents, anything which can be designated as the soul, which is taken as the basis of I-ness and Mine-ness. In Pāli[2] this has been expressed

[1] *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 54: There are five kinds of seeds : mūlabīja, khandhabīja, aggabīja, phalabīja, bījabīja.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1, 42 f., 55.

thus : Assutavā puthujjano—

(i) rūpaṁ (or vedanaṁ or saññaṁ or saṁkhāre or viññāṇaṁ) attato samanupassati.

(ii) rūpavantaṁ va attānaṁ

(iii) attāni va rūpaṁ

(iv) rūpasmiṁ va attānaṁ samanupassati.

The unenlightened common man identifies either material elements (*rūpa*) or one of the other four constituents[1] with soul as a flame with its colour, or regards soul as possessed of one of the constituents as a tree is possessed of its shadow, or thinks one of the constituents exists in soul as smell is in flower or looks upon soul as contained in the five constituents as jewel is in a casket.

In Buddhist philosophy it is contended that if soul be identical with the constituents, it would be impermanent and subject to destruction, again if it be different from the constituents, it will be like the cowherd and the cow, hence, neither identity nor separateness can be established. This identity and separateness have been expressed in Pāli thus : "Taṁ jīvaṁ taṁ sarīraṁ aññaṁ jīvaṁ aññaṁ sarīraṁ"[2] Both of these have been declared by the Teacher as nideterminable (*avyākata*).

The absence of soul forms the subject matter of the second discourse of Buddha to the five Brāhmaṇas of Isipatana (Banaras). Buddha explained to them that if

[1] In place of *rūpa* the other constituents *vedanā, saññā, saṁkhārā viññāṇa* are to be put.

[2] *Saṁyutta*, II, p. 61.

soul be identical with one of the five constituents or all of them together then the soul could dictate that the constituents be not subject to illness and they be such and such as it wished. It is however well known that the constituents are impermanent (*anicca*) and that which is impermanent is subject to misery (*dukkha*) and then is it reasonable to look upon the constituents as one's own self. Hence all constituents be they of the past, present or future are not the self. Those, who realise this fact, develop non-attachment to the constituents[1] and in consequence of such detachment, they become emancipated and put an end to their repeated existences. This discourse opened up the eyes of knowledge of the five Brāhmaṇas who then and there became arhats.[2]

In the *Mūlapariyāyasutta*, the first discourse of the *Majjhima Nikāya* delivered by Buddha at Ukkaṭṭha near Sāvatthī, the absence of self has been pointed out as the main basis of his teachings. In this sutta, he says that a person should not establish any relation of himself with the objects of the world. It is the untrained ignorant person who assumes the existence of the elements like earth, water, air and fire and thinks that they belong to him, that something has come out of them or that something has gone into them and so forth. Similarly he assumes the existence of all living beings from the lowest to the highest or

[1] Cf. *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 34: Rūpaṁ bhikkhave na tumhākaṁ taṁ pajahatha...vedanā...saññā...saṅkhārā...viññāṇaṃ yaṁ bhikkhave na tumhākaṁ taṁ pajahatha. Taṁ vo pahīṇam hitāya sukhāya bhavissati.

Vinaya, I, p. 13-14=*Saṁyutta*, III, pp. 66-8.

assumes the existence of things seen, heard, known or thought of by him, and even regards Nibbāna as an attainable state and establishes,a relation between them and himself. He does not know that neither he exists in reality nor the objects with which he has been establishing a relation. He conceives of Nibbāna as a desirable ultimate state to be obtained, but true Nibbāna is not an object or state to be attained, it is to be only realised within one's own self, it is not a heavenly state or something superior to it. Buddha therefore instructed his disciples to get rid of the notion of self as also of the notion of the existence of worldly objects.

The above instruction has been further developed by the Teacher in *Chabbisodhanasutta*[1]. In this *sutta* Buddha says that a perfect monk frees his mind from the notion of objects seen, heard, thought of, or known[2] and thereby gets rid of the impurities (*āsavas*) and attains mental emancipation. Similarly he does not conceive of the existence of the five constituents of a being (*pañca upādānakhandhā*) or of the sense-organs and their objects, or of the six elements, viz., earth, water, fire, air, space and consciousness (paṭhavi, āpo, tejo, vāyo, ākāsa, viññāṇa). He knows the elements to be self-less (*anattato*), i.e., unreal, and so he does not fix his mind upon them and thereby attains mental emancipation.

The non-Buddhists attribute to soul (*ātman*) some characteristics such as eternal (*nitya*), hence unchangeable, immaculate (*suddha*) and fully enlightened (*buddha*). Again

[1] *Majjhima*, III, p. 29.
Cf.[2] *Saṁyutta*,, IV, p. 73.

they state that it is not an agent but an enjoyer of fruits, it is attributeless and inactive. Though it remains unchanged, it develops a distinction when it remains confined in a living being. The Buddhists contend that an unchangeable entity can in no circumstances combine with a changeable entity and can never be either an enjoyer or a link of the impermanent evanescent objects. An eternal unchangeable should ever remain so, and should always remain disassociated with anything changeable. Soul, according to the Buddhists, is merely a notion, the basis of the sense of I-ness and Mine-ness and has no independent existence. Further they state that any form of existence apart from the Unity must have some worldly characteristics, which are denied to the soul by the non-Buddhists. The Buddhists contend that any analysis of the constituents does not yield any proof of its independent existence. Just as on account of a mirror an image is seen so also on account of the *khandhas* the notion of I-ness or soul (*attā*) arises. As without a mirror, an image is not seen so without the conglomeration of constituents,the notion of I-ness does not arise.[1]

A lotus gives out smell but can the smell be located in its petals or colour or filament (kiñjalka)[2] or is the smell something separate and outside the lotus, similarly the five constituents give rise to the notion of I-ness but it cannot

[1] *Dīgha* I, p. 202: lokasamañño lokaniruttiyo lokavohāro lokapaññattiyo ; *Saṁyutta,* IV, p. 54 suñño loko attena.

[2] *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 130 : a discourse delivered to Khemaka of Ghositārāma, Kosambi.

be located in any of the five constituents, in all of them or outside them. Soul is like the sound produced in a flute[1].

(D) AFTER DEATH TATHĀGATA EXISTS OR NOT

Allied to the question of the existence of soul (*attā-ātman*) is another question whether an emancipated person an *Arhat, a Buddha, or a Tathāgata after parinirvāṇa exists or not.*[2] Before taking up this question it is necessary to know the distinction made in early Buddhism between an Arhat and a Buddha. In the Saṁyutta Nikāya it is pointed out that a Sammā Sambuddha is the first discoverer, propounder and preacher of the path to Nibbāna which was unknown before him and he was a pastmaster of that path. His disciples after hearing from him the details of the path, follow it and gradually obtain perfection in it. They at first reach the Sotāpanna stage in which they obtain the inkling of the truth by removing their belief in the existence of a self (*Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), in the efficacy of rituals and ceremonies (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*) and their doubts about the excellence of the Triratna (*vicikicchā*). They pass on to the Sakadāgāmī stage by reducing their attachment(*rāga*), ill-will (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) to the minimum. In this stage if they die,they will be reborn only once more in this mortal world to attain final emancipation. They attain the third stage called Anāgāmī by completely eradicating their mind of attachment (*rāga*), ill-will (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). In this stage if they die they are reborn not in the mortal world but in one of the heavens and there they attain

[1] *Saṁyutta* IV, p. 197.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 66.

nibbāna. In the last stage called Arhathood they gain clear insight and knowledge of the truth, clean their mind of all impurities, misapprehensions, desires of every kind, and fulfil all the duties taken up by them as a recluse and have no more rebirth. In this stage the disciples are as emancipated through knowledge (*paññāvimutta*) as a Buddha.[1] Both an arhat and a Buddha dissociate themselves completely from the five constituents viz., *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra* and *viññāṇa*. In other words, in Nibbāna, there is no difference between an Arhat and a Buddha.

In the present discussion the term Tathāgata has been used instead of Buddha. This term has a special significance. In Pali Aṭṭhakathā an etymological meaning is given,viz., he who comes (*āgata*) and goes(*gata*)in the same way (*tathā*) as the previous Buddhas. The Buddhists uphold the view that the Truth being the same for ever, all Buddhas discover and preach the same Truth in the same way and so the Truth finder is called the Tathāgata. In Pali texts the formula of the law of causation called as *idapaccayata* is regarded as a universal eternal Truth, explaining the nature of the phenomenal world and for this reason it is also termed "*dhammaṭṭhitatā*" "*dhammaniyāmata*" (the existence of phenomenal objects and the eternal law

[1] The four stages of Sanctification are also detailed thus : Dhammānusārī and Saddhānusārī precede Sotāpanna (Saṁyutta, V, 200). Antaraparinibbāyī, Upahaccaparinibbāyī, Asaṅkhāraparinibbāyī, sasaṅkhāraparinibbāyī are classifications of Anāgāmi (*Saṁyutta* V. 201). Uddhamsoto, Ekabiji, Kolaṁkolo, Sattakkhattuparamo (*Saṁyutta*, V, 205) are sub-spages of sotāpatti.

governing the same). One who discovers and preaches this law is called a Tathāgata.[1] "Tathāni" has been used as a synonym for "*saccāni*" because the four truths (*Ariyasaccas*)[2] are neither wrong (*avitatha*) nor changeable (*anaññatha*). One, who discovers and preaches the four truths, is a Tathāgata. Lastly, Bhagavā is described as the personification of knowledge (*ñāṇabhūta*) and of purity (*brahmabhūta*) and of all objects (*dhammabhūta*), as the discoverer of the teachings and bestower of immortality and so he is the lord of righteousness, the Tathāgata.[3] Further the Tāthagata has been described as deep and unfathomable as the oceans implying thereby the identity of the Tathāgata with the universal Truth.[4]

It is therefore evident that the term "Tathāgata" has a deeper significance than "Buddha" or "Arhat" and it carries also a philosophical import. The inquiry whether Tathāgata exists after death or not is also an indirect attempt to find out the nature of"Nibbāna"of the Buddhists in comparison to "Brahman" of the Vedāntists. In all Buddhist texts the problem is put in a fourfold proposition thus :—

(i) Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā ti vā
(ii) Na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā ti vā
(iii) Hoti na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā ti vā
(iv) Neva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā tivā.

This fourfold problem raises the question of the existence of soul in an indirect manner. In it the soul

[1] *Saṁyutta*, II, p. 25.
[2] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 430, 435.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 95 ; Majjhima, III, p. 175.
[4] *Saṁyutta*, IV, p. 37.

implied is that of an emancipated person, an arhat, a Buddha, or a Tathāgata. As the Buddhists uphold the doctrine of *anatta,* i.e., non-existence of soul, a persisting entity, the present problem is not worth discussing and so Buddha declared it as indeterminable. The question whether Tathāgata exists after death or not refers to the Tathāgata of five constituents which have become free from all possible impurities. In discussing the problem the texts have used the same argument as in the case of soul, viz., whether Tathāgata is identical with the constituents, whether Tathāgata is different from the constituents, whether Tathāgata is in constituents, whether the constituents are in Tathāgata, whether Tathāgata is possessed of constituents. As none of these are true there can be no Tathāgata in reality. If the Tathāgata be identical with the constituents severally or collectively he would be subject to origin and decay but a Tathāgata or pure Ātman is beyond origin and decay and so the identity cannot be established. The other argument is,if the Tathāgata be different from the constituents, severally or collectively, then he would be an entity separate and independent of the constituents but that cannot be admitted as fire cannot be separated from firewood. If fire could be separated and made independent then there would have been no necessity of producing fire, likewise no exertion would have been necessary for becoming a Tathāgata.

If Tathāgata is not an entity different from the constituents, the other three questions, viz., Tathāgata in constituents, or *vice versa,* or Tathāgata possesses the constituents, cannot be raised, as these assume

two separate entities. Thus it is established that Tathāgata is neither identical with, nor different from the constituents. The Tathāgata, after death is inconceivable and indeterminable.

Again, if the Tathāgata be regarded as an image of pure constituents like reflection on a mirror, then also his appearance becomes dependent on the constituents and all dependent origination, according to Buddhism, is unreal (*niḥsvabhāva*). It should also be remembered that the constituents depend for their origin on causes and conditions and hence they are also unreal. For all these reasons, the existence or nonexistence of Tathāgata after death should be left as indeter minable (*avyākata*).

Mahākassapa and Sāriputta while staying at Isipatana (Bārāṇasī) mentioned this problem and said that the Teacher had asked them to leave this problem as indeterminable and any discussion about it would not lead to the final goal.[1] Yamaka bhikkhu asked Sāriputta when the latter was staying at Sāvatthī if it was a fact that a monk free from all impurities (*khīṇāsava*) does not exist after death (*na hoti paraṁ maraṇā*). Sāriputta told him that it was wholly a wrong view and should be given up. He explained to him that it was a fact that the five constituents were impermanent but a Tathāgata was neither to be identified with the constituents nor to be taken as a negation of the constituents (*arūpa avedano asaññī asaṅkhāro aviññāṇo*). Tathāgata's existence in this world was not perceivable

[1] *Saṁyutta*, II, p. 223.

(*diṭṭhe va dhamme saccato thetato tathāgato anupalabbhiyamāno*). Those, who did not comprehend the nature of the constituents, their impermanence and non-existence in reality, remained attached to them, misapprehended the Tathāgata as existent or non-existent. In the Culasuññatāsutta[2] there is a suggestion about the ultimate state of a perfect being. Buddha while residing at Sāvatthī was asked by Ānanda whether he passed his time in Suññatā (*Suññatāvihāra*). Buddha answered in the affirmative and said that he passed and was passing his time in Suññatāvihāra (absence of something). While residing at Migāramātupāsāda in Sāvatthī he was having a suññatāvihāra for the fact the monastery was devoid (suññam) of elephants, cows and horses, of gold and silver, of men and women but it was not devoid (asuññaṁ) of the sense of existence of monks and their common characteristics. Similarly when dwelling in a forest, he lived devoid (suññam) of the sense of a village (gāma) or of its men but he was not devoid (asuññaṁ) of the sense of existence of the forest (arañña) with its one characteristic. In the same way if a meditator meditates on earth as one object without rivers and mountains or anything else, he lives devoid of the sense of men or forest or hills or rivers but he is not devoid of the sense of oneness of the earth. Similarly when he rises to the fifth meditation (*samāpatti*)[1] in which he concentrates his mind on infinite space (*anantākāsa*) he is devoid of the sense of earth and everything else, but he is not devoid of the sense of oneness of space—this much remains in his mind as

[1] Saṁyutta, III, p. 114; IV, p. 386.
[2] Majjhima, III, p. 109.

asuñña (a real object). Then when he rises to the sixth meditation (samāpatti) and concentrates his mind on infinite consciousness (*anantaviññāṇa*), he loses the sense of everything else except the sense of oneness of infinite consciousness only. In the seventh meditation he concentrates on desireless-space (akiñcaññāyatana)[1] and retains the sense of that only and nothing else. In the eighth meditation he concentrates on the state of neither consciousness nor un-consciousness (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*) and retains the sense of that only and nothing else. His mind reaches the stage in which he does not notice any characteristics of any object however subtle it may be(*animitta cetosamādhi*). He now realises that even this sense which is left in his mind is also evanescent (*anicca*) and thereby he purifies his mind of the three impurities (*āsavas*), viz., desire for any object (*kāma*), desire for re-existence (*bhāva*) and ignorance (*avijjā*). He however still retains in his mind the sense that he has a body with six organs up to the end of the span of his life, i.e., he is devoid (suññaṁ) of the sense of everything but not (asuññaṁ) of his own body. This is the highest conceivable state of Suññatā or absence of any notion of existence of worldly objects from the lowest to the highest. This is called *suññatāvihāra*. Here ends the discourse on Suññatā.

It is clear from the above discourse that after death the meditator be he an Arhat or a Tathāgata loses the last vestige of the sense of the existence of his body and passes into absolute *suññatā*. A concrete instance of the

[1] Kiñcāna = rāga, dosa, moha. See *Saṁyutta*, IV, p. 297.

disappearance of the last vestige of five constituents is found in the account of Vakkali's *parinibbāna*. When his body was being burnt and smoke was coming out of the pyre, Buddha said that Māra was looking for his *viññāṇa* (the fifth constituent) but alas he would not find it as Vakkali had attained perfection and his *viññāṇa* had no footing in this world (*apatiṭṭhita*).[1] While dwelling at Sāvatthī, Buddha cleared up this further. He said that the five constituents were interdependent, the succeeding one depending on the previous, e.g., on material elements (*rūpa*) depends feeling (*vedanā*), on feeling rests perception (*saññā*), on perception rest impressions (*saṁkhārā*), and on impressions rests consciousness (*viññāṇa*). When a person gets rid of the attachment to material elements, other constituents lose their foothold, and lastly *viññāṇa* becomes supportless (*apatiṭṭhita*)[2] and that *viññāṇa* becomes free and attains *parinibbāna*, in other words, disappears in the inconceivable suññatā.

A Tathāgata or an Arhat after death is devoid of the five constituents and his *viññaṇa* being *apatiṭṭhita* has no existence whatsoever. He disappears in the infinite *Suññatā* and goes beyond the possibility of identification like the river Gaṅga flowing into the sea and losing its identity.

The Buddhists deny the existence of a persisting entity in a being apart from the five constituents, and when a person attains perfection and becomes a Tathāgata it should

[1] If the *viññāṇa* does not lose its foothold, there remains the certainty of his rebirth. *Saṁyutta*, II, pp. 66, 101.

[2] *Saṁyutta*, I, p. 122 ; III, p. 124.

not be said that he retains a persisting entity which is released from bondage and continues to exist for ever in Nibbāna. In Nibbana there is no individuality, it is oneness, of one taste, and so to trace a Tathāgata in it is out of the question. Nibbāna is indefinable and unfathomable.[1]

(E) NIRVĀṆA

Buddha has avoided any positive statement about Nirvāṇa or Tathāgata's state after death discussed above. His first utterance about Nibbāna or the Truth discovered by him is that "it is profound, hard to comprehend, serene, excellent, beyond dialectic, abstruse and only to be realised by the wise within one's own self". The Nirvāṇa is without origin and decay, disease and sorrow.

It is not a state or an object to be attained. It is ever existing and is not produced by the eightfold path or thirty-seven *Bodhipakkhiya dhammas* (practices leading to full enlightenment). It comes to an exerting person as a flash of light (obhāsa) and any exertion to possess it is futile. A person who has risen to the highest stage of meditation, in which there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*) or even beyond, i.e., the stage in which one has thereby brought to an end his consciousness (*saññāvedayitanirodha*) a stage almost akin to death, is not assured of realizing Nibbāna if he is unable to get rid of his notion, that he has achieved the highest possible mental purification through meditation. He is not a sammā ni-

[1] Saṁyutta, III, p. 189.

bbānādhimutto unless and until he dissociated his mind from the felter (saṁyojana) of nevasaññānāsaññāyatana[1] or saññāvedayitanirodha.

Buddha explained to Ānanda if a monk thinks that he has given up his notion of his past, present and future existences and thereby has attained mental equanimity (upekkhā) and derive a satisfaction out of it he in fact does not get rid of attachment (*anupādāno*), for he has still a lingering attachment for one of the strongest *upādānas*, viz., nevasaññānāsaññāyatana.[2] In order to be anupādiyāno he must not indulge in any thought, e.g., that he has attained equanimity.[2] One who does not relinquish such thought will be reborn as a god of the Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana sphere where he will live for quite a long time. Hence by faith, by observance of moral precepts, by study, by self-sacrifice, and by knowledge a monk eradicates his impurities (*āsavas*), attains mental and intellectual emancipation, and thus realises the Truth. He will never be reborn anywhere.[3]

Buddha himself, it will be observed just before his *Mahāparinibbāna*, rose to the eighth samāpatti (meditation: Nevasaññānāsaññā) but came down to the fourth jhāna (*dhyāna*) to attain parinibbāna. This implies that Nibbāna cannot be attained through mere meditation, however subtle it may be nor by any other exertion, though such exertions are needed to prepare a man's mind for the realisation of the Truth. Buddha has elaborately dealt with the various

[1] *Majhima*, II, p. 256.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 265.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, p. 103.

forms of exertions and meditations that are required as preparatory exercises to the realisation of Nibbāna (see above) but the keynote of all his teachings for reaching the *summum bonum* is that a person must completely eradicate from his mind the notion of individuality, the existence of his self,—it is this *anatta* realisation alone that can confer the knowledge of the Truth. Throughout the Nikāyas Buddha has harped on this theme, and it forms the fundamental basis of his teaching (mūlapariyāya). In fact, by ignorance (*avijjā*) he meant one's notion of I-ness and Mineness and it is for the eradication of this notion he formulated the four truths : *dukkhaṁ samudayaṁ nirodhaṁ maggaṁ* including the formula of paṭiccasamuppāda. By these truths he tried to educate his disciples in such a way that they may rise above their notion of individuality and will not care to establish any relation of themselves with the worldly objects. This relation, which he called 'kāma' (desire), is not confined to worldly objects like wealth, property, relatives and friends, or robes and begging bowl, but includes spiritual acquisitions, e.g., abhiññās (six higher powers), jhānas and samāpattis (meditations). He insists that a disciple must not think of himself in any relation to what has seen, heard, thought and known (*diṭṭha, suta, muta, viññāta*)[1] or must not take any interest even in abstruse matters such as identity (*ekatta*), differences (*nānatta*) or the sum-total (*sabbaṁ*) of worldly objects. They must not imagine that they are extending their

[1] *Majjhima,* III, p. 30 : ditthe sute mute viññāte anupāyo ana- › anissito appaṭibaddho vippamutto etc., cf. *Majjhima,* I, p. 3.

love (*mettā*) and compassion (karuṇā) to all beings as that would lead to the notion of two entities, the self of the person exercising love (mettā) or compassion (karuṇā) and the selves of the beings to be loved, and pitied. It is often said that the world should be looked upon as substanceless (*suññato loko avekkhassu*).[1] A Buddha or a Tathāgata is above love or compassion. He lives without giving attention to the characteristics of objects and internally he maintains suññatā.[2] All that the Tathāgata has said is associated with suññatā.[3] Lastly they must not even think of *Nibbāna* as an ideal perfect state to be attained by them. It is a wrong view to say that I have attained quietude; I am without upādāna; my thirst is quenched.[4]

Such effacement of self is the creed of Buddha's teaching and is the only means to destroy *rāga, dosa* and *moha* (attachment, hatred and delusion) and to realise the Truth, the Nibbāna, i.e., to become a Tathāgata. This has been interpreted in later Buddhist texts as oneness (*advayaṁ advaidhīkāraṁ*) i.e., absence of duality. In the Pali texts, Buddha has not used this expression of non-duality though this is implied in his sayings. The main reason for his not mentioning non-duality is that one must at first admit two entities and then to identify them as one and the same. Buddha's *anatta* doctrine dismisses the possibility of two entities, hence, in the absence of two entities, it would not

[1] Suttanipāta, p. 217.
[2] Majjhima III.
[3] Samyutta, II, p. 267.
[4] Majjhima, II, p. 237.

be logical to say "advayam" i.e., not two. He has said that *nibbāna* is *ekarasa* (of one taste).

To remove the least vestige of the notion of self it has been pointed out that, of the five constituents of a being there may remain in the mind of his disciples a lingering impression that viññāṇa continues to exist in *Nibbāna*. In reply to Udaya māṇava's question, Buddha said the *viññāṇa* of a perfect saint ceases on his not being interested in internal and external feelings[1]. There is the stock passage that a person attains Nibbāna in this life (diṭṭhadhammanibbānappatto) if he can free his mind from its attachment to the five constituents, *rūpa, vedanā, saññā saṁkhāra* and *viññāṇa* (nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya patipanno).[2] From these passages it is evident that viññāṇa also ceases in Nibbāna. It is the viññaṇa of an imperfect which takes rebirth and continues in repeated existences but not the viññāṇa of a perfect saint, which, as explained above, has no foothold (apatiṭṭhita),i.e., the other khandhas. Arhathood is obtained only when nāma and rūpa (=five constituents of a being) cease altogether (asesam uparujjhati).[3] It is only in the concluding verses of the Kevaddhaka sutta[4]

[1] Suttanipāta, p. 215.

[2] Saṁyutta, III, p. 164.

[3] Suttanipātā, p. 198 ; Saṁyutta, I, pp. 15, 60.

[4] Pārāyaṇavagga, p. 207.

Viññāṇaṁ anidassanaṁ anantaṁ sabbato pahaṁ.
Ettha āpo ca paṭhavi tejo vāyo na gādhati.
Ettha dīghañ ca rassañ ca anuṁ thūlaṁ subhāsubhaṁ.
Etha nāmañ ca rūpañ ca asesaṁ uparujjhati.
Viññāṇassa nirodhena etth' etaṁ uparujjhatīti

(Dīgha, I, p. 223)

that a slight hint is given that Viññāṇa is infinite (*ananta*) without location(anidassana),and all shining(*sabbato pabbam* "for *paham*") and that in it nāma-rūpa which include viññāṇa cease as also the distinctions like long and short, gross and subtle, good and bad, and in it earth, water, fire and air have no place. This conception of infinity has been cleared up in three stanzas of the *Suttanipāta* :[1]

Buddha : Accī yathā vātavegena khitto
atthaṁ paleti na upeti saṁkhaṁ,
evam munī nāmakāyā vimutto
atthaṁ paleti na upeti saṁkhain.

Upasiva : Atthaṅgato so uda vā so n'atthi
udāhu ve sassatiyā arogo,
tam me munī sādhu viyākarohi
tathā hi te vidito esa dhammo.

Buddha : Atthaṅgatassa na pamāṇam atthi
yena nam vajju, tam tassa n'atthi
sabbesu dhammesu samūhatesu
samūhatā vādapathā pi sabbe ti.

Bhagavā explained to Upasiva māṇava that as the flame of a lamp when blown by wind disappears and no trace of it can be found so also the perfect sage (muni) freed from mortal body (*nāmakāya*) disappears without any trace. Upasiva then questioned him whether after disappearance he does not exist (so n'atthi) or he remains for ever in a healthy state ? Bhagavā replied that one who thus disappears is immeasurable and there is nothing of him, of which I am able to speak. He has destroyed all of his

[1] Pārāyanavagga, p 207

dhammas and has gone beyond the possibility of description in words.

On *Mahāparinibbāna* of Buddha, Anuruddha, a distinguished disciple of his, described his demise in these words :

Nāhu assāsa-passāso ṭhitacittassa tādino
Anejo santim ārabbha yaṁ kālaṁ akarī munī
Asallīnena cittena vedanam ajjhavāsayi :
Pajjotass' eva nibbānaṁ vimokho cetaso ahū ti.

[*Transl* : There is no more inhalation and exhalation of a firm mind like that of his; for the sake of unswerving rest the saint has passed away. With a strong mind he has borne the pain of death. His mind has become freed like the blowing out of the lamp].

The last line of the stanza formed the basis of speculations of many scholars, some of whom inferred from it that "nibbāna" was pure and simple annihilation. But if this stanza be read along with the one cited from the Suttanipāta above, it will be observed that his mind, which was the most important of his mortal constituents, disappeared like the flame of a lamp, and he passed away for the sake of attaining thee ternal unchanging tranquility (*anejo santim*).

Throughout the Pāli texts these are the two passages which throw a hint that Nibbāna is infinite, indescribable, ever existing, and there are many statements which indicate that it is suitable for realisation only within one's own self. The term "Suññatā" however has not been used in the Pāli texts to indicate the nature of Nirvāṇa as has been done in later Buddhist texts.

Buddha was insistent that his Truth was none of the two extreme views, viz., *Śāśvata* (eternal) and *Uccheda* (annihilation). There is no end of discourses, in which Buddha did not bitterly criticise the extreme views held by the non-Buddhists. These views may be summed up thus :—

(a) The world is eternal (Sassato loko) ;	(b) The world is not eternal (Assasato loko) ;
(c) The world is limited (Antavā loko) ;	(d) The world is unlimited (Anantavā loko) ;
(e) Soul is identical with body (Taṃ jīvam taṃ sarīraṃ)	(f) Soul is different from body (aññaṃ jīvam aññaṃ sarīraṃ)
(g) Tathāgata exists after death (Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā)	(h) Tathāgata does not exist after death (Na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā)
(i) Tathāgata both exists and not exists after death. (Hoti na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā).	(j) Tathāgata neither exists nor not exists after death. (N'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā)

Buddha said he was acquainted with these wrong views and many more but he had nothing to do with them. He had realised the origin and decay of *vedanā* (feelings), their taste and perils as well as the means of escape from them. By such realisation he had become free without any support and had found out the Truth which was deep and subtle and beyond dialectics.[1]

[1] *Dīgha*, I, p. 30.

The only conception of Nirvāṇa that can keep clear of the extremes is either it is as non-existent as a sky-flower, or son of a barren woman, or as an infinity beyond all attributes. There are however a number of passages, in which Nibbāna has been referred to as a *dhātu* (element), *amatapadaṃ* (state of immortality),[1] *anuttaraṃ santivarapadaṃ* (incomparable excellent quietude),[2] *paramaṃ santiṃ* (highest tranquil state),[3] *amatogadaṃ* (medicine of immortality),[4] *ekarasaṃ* (of one taste),[5] *samaṃ bhūmibhāgaṃ* (level tract),[6] and so forth. These are metapherical terms and should not be taken as synonyms of Nibbāna. These, however, clearly prove that the Buddhists conceived of Nibbāna as a positive though indescribable state.

[1] *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 212; II, p. 280.
[2] *Majjhima*, II, p. 237.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 105.
[4] *Saṃyutta*, V, pp. 55, 220-1.
[5] *Vinaya*, II, p. 239.
[6] *Saṃyutta*, III, p. 109.

CHAPTER XI

THE MONASTIC SYSTEM

THE present province of Uttar Pradesh can well claim to be the scene not only of the initiation of Buddha's monastic system at Sarnath with the ordination of the first sixty disciples by the utterance of the simple two words "Ehi bhikkhu" but also of a large section of rules codified in the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* of the Vinaya Piṭaka. In Uttar Pradesh were worked out the details of the two ceremonies of ordination, lower (*Pabbajjā*) and higher (*Upasampadā*), and two important ecclesiastical functions performed at the close of the rainy season retreat (*varṣāvāsa*) viz., *Pavāraṇā* and *Kaṭhina*. In the former the monks confessed their sins of omission and commission incurred during the three months of *varṣā*, and in the latter the monks were permitted to cut, sew and dye the cloths received by them at the Pavāraṇā ceremony for making them into robes and distributing them among the resident monks. Besides these two functions many of the Mahāvagga rules relating to the ways of properly observing *varsāvāsa* and to the use of leather shoes, robes, medicaments were framed in Uttar Pradesh.

Of the ten sections of the Cullavagga, four, dealing with (i) the rules of conduct of monks punished for breach of Saṃghādisesas, (ii) the procedure for their re-admission into the Saṅgha, and (iii) exclusion of monks from the

Uposatha assemblies for commission of offences were compiled wholly at Sāvatthī, where also were laid down a number of rules regarding (i) disciplinary measures to be taken against defaulting monks (ii) articles of daily use of monks and (iii) furnitures allowable to the monks.

The Pātimokkha sutta containing 227 rules formed the nucleus of the Vinaya Piṭaka and was recited at every Uposatha assembly. The offences codified in the Sutta are divided thus :

Four Pārājikās, entailing the relinquishment of a monk's robe.

Thirteen Saṅghādisesas, entailing suspension of a monk from the privileges of the Saṅgha with the possibility of re-admission into the Saṅgha if found fit by a chapter of monks, provided there is proper observance of the restrictions imposed on him.

Two Aniyatas, or uncertain offences to be decided with reference to the actual circumstances.

Thirty Nissaggiya Pācittiyas—requiring a monk to part with the articles not allowed, and confess his fault for having them.

Ninety two Pācittiyas—The rules require confession only for absolution.

Four Pāṭidesaniyas—These need acknowledgement and confession of one's offences for absolution.

Seventy five Sekhiyas–or directions for good conduct.

Seven Adhikaraṇasamathas or ways of settling disputes among monks.

There was also a Pātimokkhasutta on the same lines as above for the nuns called Bhikkhuṇī-Pātimokkha. The whole of this Pātimokkha was compiled at Sāvatthī.

Of the 227 rules, mentioned above, 198 were framed at Sāvatthī, Banaras, Kosambī and Kapilavatthu. These are—

Pārājikā	Nil
Saṁghādisesā	9
Aniyatā	2
Nissaggiyā Pācittiyā	23
Pācittiyā	80
Pāṭidesanīyā	3
Sekhiyā	74
Adhikaraṇasamathā	7
	198

From the above, it is evident that the major part of the Pātimokkha rules had their origin in Uttar Pradesh.

THE PĀTIMOKKHA

The first section Pārājikā was formulated at Vesāli in Magadha. Any monk guilty of Pārājikā was removed from the Saṅgha and compelled to become a layman. The second section Saṁghādisesa contained thirteen rules, of which nine were formulated at Sāvatthī. Of these nine, the first five deal with probabilities of sexual delinquencies among monks. The first speaks of deliberate self-abuses, the second, third and fourth refer to indirect hints that may be dropped by a monk to a female with a sexual motive while the fifth debars monks from acting as intermediaries between a male and a female for immoral purposes. The sixth rule although laid down at Rājagaha was formulated at the instance of a few Ālavika monks, who persuaded a householder to build for them a hermitage and then for completing the construction

they approached other householders for different building materials. This rule prohibits such seeking of articles from householders. The seventh rule was occasioned by Bhikkhu Channa's wrong selection of a site at Kosambi for the purpose of a monastery, which his lay-supporter intended to construct. On the site there was a tree sacred to the local people who resented the pulling down of the tree. This rule therefore directs that the selection of a site for a monastery is to be made by a body of monks. The twelfth rule was also laid down at the instance of Channa bhikkhu, who insisted that he should be left alone in complying with the disciplinary rules and would not like to be admonished by other monks. This rule prohibits such obstinacy and directs that such a monk should be asked to change his views for three times and if he does not, he should be charged with the Saṃghādisesa offence. The thirteenth rule was formulated at the instance of the monks of Kiṭāgiri, who were mixing indiscriminately with the householders and doing acts not allowable to the monks. According to this rule attempts should first be made to correct the habits of such monks, failing which, they should be held guilty of the Saṃghādisesa offence.

A monk committing a Saṃghādisesa offence has to place himself before a chapter of monks for imposition of suitable ecclesiastical punishments. After undergoing the punishment, he is to present himself again before the chapter to get absolution and re-admission into the privileges of the Saṅgha.

The third section *Aniyata* contains only two rules. The title of the section indicates that an enquiry of the

circumstances is needed to ascertain the nature of the offence if any at all committed. Both the rules under this section were formulated, at Sāvatthī at the instance of Visākhā, who had then grown old. Visākhā once took objection to Udāyī Bhikkhu's sitting and talking with a female at a lonely place, but it was sometimes found that the female with whom the monk was sitting was either his mother or sister or daughter, and so he was not indulging in any undesirable acts or talks. So these rules prescribed that such cases should be kept open for enquiry.

The fourth section contains thirty Nissaggiya Pācittiya rules, which entail the giving up (*Naiḥsargika*) of an article of use not permissible and formally expressing regret for the offence (pācittiya = pātayantika prayaścittika). Of the thirty rules of this section twentythree were laid down at Sāvatthī and other places within Uttar Pradesh.

On one occasion Ānanda had received an extra robe and he wanted to give it to Sāriputta, who was then at Sāketa. Ānanda was permitted to keep the extra robe up to the tenth day on which Sāriputta was to come to Sāvatthī and the rule was laid down permitting a monk to retain an extra robe at the most for ten days, if he exceeded this limit, he would be guilty of Pācittiya offence. The other rules framed under this section at Sāvatthī are as follows :

(a) No monk is to depart from a place with only two pieces of cloth leaving the third to the care of others.

(b) After the Kaṭhina ceremony, no monk is to store cloths which are found to be insufficient for the purpose of making a robe for over a month, in expectation of a gift of the balance.

(c) No monk is to get his soiled robes washed or dyed by a nun who is not a near relation of his nor should he accept any robe from a nun except in exchange.

(d) No monk is to seek a robe or any other article of use from a householder, who is not his relation but in case of emergencies, e.g., when a monk's robe or other articles are lost or taken away by robbers, such seeking of articles of use is exempted but it should be limited only to the inner and outer robes (antarāvāsaka and uttarāsaṅgha). Upananda bhikkhu attained popularity as a preacher of the doctrines and had many lay-disciples, some of whom were well-to-do. He was offered many robes and money. For such cases Buddha laid down the following rules :

(a) No monk is to express his desire to a householder who wants to offer a robe about the quality of robes liked by him.

(b) If a householder gives money or cloths to a weaver for making robes for a certain monk and if the weaver does not give the robe in due time, the monk may approach him but he is not to talk to him but just stand before him silently, and failing to get the robes he should inform his donor to take back his money. When the weaver is making the robe, the monk should not direct him to make it long or wide or do the weaving neatly.

The monks were prohibited from using silk in squatting rugs. The rugs, if made of sheep-wool, should have one half black wool, one quarter white and one quarter brown. Each rug must be used for six years. A few other directions are given for making rugs and squatting mats.

The other rules of this section laid down at Sāvatthī are as follows :—

(a) No monk is to engage himself in selling or buying articles, or touching gold and silver.

(b) No monk is to keep an extra bowl for more than ten days or replace a bowl unless and until it has been repaired at least five times.

(c) No monk is to store medicinal requisites for more than one week.

The fifth section *Pācittiya* (= Pātayantika, Prāyaścittika) contained ninetytwo rules which required a monk to confess his offences formally before a chapter of monks for absolution. Eighty rules of this section were laid down at Sāvatthī and other places in Uttar Pradesh.

Hatthaka bhikkhu unable to stand in disputations against other sectarians resorted to false statements. He was reproached and the rule was laid down that deliberate speaking of falsehood was *pācittiya*. Then on other occasions it was prescribed that monks must avoid slandering others. They should not sleep with unordained persons for more than two nights.

Once Anuruddha, a distinguished disciple of Buddha, had to sleep in a place where there was a woman who made attempts to entice him but failed to produce any effect on his mind. Hearing the incident from Anuruddha, the Teacher laid down that a monk must not sleep in a room where a woman slept, or impart instructions to a woman with more than five words.

At Sāvatthī some monks disclosed to the householders that Bhikkhu Upananda was guilty of a serious offence. Any such dislcosure to unordained persons was treated as an offence.

At Ālavi and Kosambi, the monks were prohibited from digging earth, cutting trees, and from prevaricating in statements. At Sāvatthī certain directions were given relating to the use of furnitures in a monastery. At Kosambi, instructions were given about roofing a hermitage. At Ālavi monks were prohibited from carelessly using water containing living beings. At Sāvatthī and Kapilavatthu monks were warned against (a) imparting instructions to nuns, (b) offering robes to nuns, (c) getting robes sewn by nuns, (d) travelling with nuns in a road or a boat, (e) sitting with a nun. At Sāvatthī certain instructions were given regarding quantity and quality of food to be taken by monks, mutual duties of monks while taking food in a lay-devotee's house.

Once King Pasenadi found monks watching military shows. He did not like it and informed the Teacher, who thereupon debarred monks from seeing or meeting soldiers. A few other rules of this sections are :

(a) No monk should laugh or show light-heartedness.

(b) Monks are required to identify their own robes by putting some sort of colour marks.

(c) No monk is to use a robe or any other article kept for another monk.

(d) No monk is to do any act which may cause injury to any kind of living beings, however small.

(e) No monk is to show the slightest disrespect to the teachings and disciplinary rules, whether major or minor.

(f) Monks should be congenial in their manners to one another.

(g) Monks must not enter into a king's bedroom or touch any valuables there.

The sixth section, *Pāṭidesaniya*, contains four rules. The absolution of offence committed under this section needs only confession. The three rules framed at Sāvatthī and Kapilavatthu direct that no monk should lift any food by his own hand (a) from the food of a nun who is not related to him, (b) from the food kept ready for monks in a lay-devotee's house, (c) from the food supplied by a lay-devotee to a monk dwelling in the forest unless and until the food was offered to him.

The seventh section, Sekhiya or Instruction, contains seventy five rules. These are not offences but directions for guidance of monks in their daily lives. All the rules excepting one were framed at Sāvatthī.

By the first twenty six rules, Bhikkhus are instructed as to the manner, in which they are to enter into the houses of laymen ; by the subsequent thirty five rules (26-60) they are instructed how to take food inoffensively and how to behave while eating and after finishing meals. Rules 61 and 62 prohibit monks from entering into a sick room with shoes on and the rules 63-72 point out the places and circumstances in which instructions are not to be imparted to laymen and the last two (74-75) forbid monks from committing nuisance on green grass or in water.

As this section deals with more or less general advices for good conduct, no punishment is prescribed for a person deviating from the rules.

The last section, *Adhikaraṇa-samatha*, dealing with the rules of settling a disputed matter was formulated at Ko-

sambi. There are seven ways of coming to decision in a dispute relating to the observance of disciplinary rules.

The first (*Sammukhavinaya*) is to ask the monks holding an opinion different from others to appear before the Saṅgha or to consult the texts or to face their opponents in order to come to a decision. The second (*Sativinaya*) course is taken when a monk says that he has not committed any offence but he is being charged by others with an offence. In such cases the monk is asked to declare that he is innocent as far as his memory goes. The third (*Amulhavinaya*) requires a monk to admit in the presence of the Saṅgha that he lost sanity at the time of commission of an offence. The fourth (*Patiññā*) requires a monk to admit the offence with which he has been charged on clear and definite grounds. The fifth (*Yebhuyyāsikā*) prescribes that the disputing monks should place their dispute before a larger assembly of monks and have it settled by votes (*salākā*). The sixth (*Tassapāpiyyassikā*) envisages the cases of those monks who prevaricate by first admitting and then denying an offence committed by them. The Saṅgha in such cases should hold him guilty of the offence and prescribe suitable punishment. The last (*Tiṇavatthāraka*) course is to see that the offences committed by a group of monks and later on admitted by them are not discussed in an open assembly.

The *Bhikkhuṇī-pātimokkha* contains broadly all the rules mentioned above with a few additions in the first(*Pārājikā*) and second (*Saṁghādisesa*), fifth (*Pācittiya*) and sixth (*Pāṭidesaniya*) sections. The rules, however, were adapted to delinquencies peculiar to the female sex.

Ordination—It was at Isipatana (Banaras) that Buddha commenced his conversion with the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics, his quondam companions, and then he converted the seṭṭhi's son Yasa and his friends by the simple formula "*Ehi bhikkhu*" (come O, monk). When the number of converts including the Teacher himself reached the figure sixty, he sent them out in different directions to preach his doctorin without delegating to them the power of convers in. The monks, who were sent out, had to bring the converts to Buddha for admission intot he order causing great inconvenience to the monks as also to the entrants, and so the Teacher delegated to them the power of conversion after laying down certain conditions to be complied with by the new entrants. They were required to have their head shaven and put on yellow robes, and after putting the robe on one shoulder they were to salute the ordaining monks and utter thrice the *Trisaraṇa* formula "Buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi and saṅghaṁ saraṇam gacchāmi" (*Vinaya*, I, 22). The monks were not discreet in giving ordinations and so several other conditions had to be imposed by the Teacher later on.

When Buddha visited Kapilavatthu for the first time, he admitted Nanda and Rāhula into the order. Their ordination hurt King Suddhodana very much particularly because they were ordained without his knowledge, and so, on this occasion, Buddha laid down the rule that no one should be ordained without his parents' consent (*Vinaya*, I, 83). Rāhula was very young, and when Sāriputta was asked by the Teacher to give him ordination, he said that he was not aware of the procedure of ordaining a

young novice (*sāmaṇera*). He was directed by Buddha to follow the same procedure as the ordination of a monk. Sāriputta gave him what is called *Sāmaṇera-pabbajjā* and took him as his servitor (*Upaṭṭhāka*) . At that time, only one servitor was allowed to a monk but for Sāriputta, Buddha relaxed the rule that a proficient monk could take more than one servitor (*Ibid*). On Sāriputta's enquiry about the precepts to be taught to the novices, he said that they should be asked to observe the ten moral precepts, viz., (i) non-killing, (ii) non-stealing, (iii) non-lying, (iv) chastity (*brahmacariya*), (v) non-drinking intoxicants, (vi) non-eating after midday, (vii) non-seeing dance and other merry-makings, (viii) non-using garlands and such other articles of decorations, (ix) non-sleeping on a high bed, and (x) non-acceptance of gold and silver. A few more rules relating to ordination were laid down at Sāvatthī. There are also detailed instructions regarding the mutual duties of the teacher and his disciple (vide *infra*, p. 242–3).

Uposatha[1]—Next in importance to ordination is the observance of fortnightly confessional meeting (*Uposatha*= *Upavasatha*) and of Pavāraṇā after the rainy season retreat. The first was introduced at the instance of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and the second at that of the people of Rājagaha. On the Uposatha days held usually on the full moon and new moon days, all the monks living within the

[1] Sans. Upavasatha = the eve of Soma sacrifice. Originally there were four days of Uposatha in Buddhism : the eighth and fourteenth or fifteenth days in each fortnight. Later, the number was reduced to two, i.e., *Pūrṇimā* and *Amāvasyā* days.

boundary limit of a monastery were required to be present at the meeting. The president of the assembly recited the *Pātimokkhasutta,* which then probably contained only 150 rules (vide *Aṅguttara*) and asked each and every monk present to declare if he had committed any breach of the rules. If in such declarations, the offences committed be of a light nature, the monk could get absolution by mere confession otherwise he was asked to leave the assembly and undergo the punishment to be prescribed by a chapter of monks.

Vassāvāsa (Sans. Varṣāvāsa)—The vassāvāsa was intended for keeping the monks at a particular āvāsa (monastery, cave or any place where monks could reside) for three months during the rains. This practice was followed by some of the non-Buddhist religious orders. During this period, the monks had to depend for their alms solely on the householders living around the Āvāsa, and were not permitted to go beyond the boundary limit prescribed for the same, except in very urgent circumstances which were also specified in detail.

In the very early days of Buddhism the monks resided largely in and around Rājagaha and there were not many monks in Kosala, and for this reason very likely these two ecclesiastical functions were initiated in Magadha. Some of the rules of these two functions were laid down at Sāvatthī and these generally related to the emergencies in which the *Uposatha* ceremony could be shortened and the *Vassāvāsa* could be brought to an end before the due time. It is said that in a certain place in Kosala the monks were afraid of aboriginals (*savara*), and were unable to recite the

whole of the Pātimokkha. Buddha permitted the monks in such circumstances to recite the Sutta in a concise manner (*antarāye saṁkhittena Pātimokkhaṁ uddisitun ti* (*Vinaya*, I, 112). The other causes for shortening the recitation were danger from kings, robbers, fire, flood, beasts of prey or circumstances threatening the lives or purity of the monks (*Vinaya*, I, 113).

In the *Cullavagga* (p. 244), Buddha elaborately dealt with the circumstances in which the Uposatha ceremony could not be performed. The main reason for such an eventuality was the suppression of an offence by a monk. To avert a monk being unjustifiably charged by another monk with an offence, the Teacher laid down a few rules.

The rules framed in Kosala relating to Vassāvāsa clearly show that the monks did not find very congenial places within that country. Some monks residing in Kosala during the rains complained to Buddha that their residences were infested with snakes or thieves or that they suffered on account of fire or flood water. They experienced also difficulties in getting sufficient food and medicines. They were pestered by wicked women of the cities. Some of their fellow brethren were trying to create a split in the Saṅgha. In such circumstances, they were permitted to discontinue their *vassāvāsa* and go elsewhere.

There is mention of two events which necessiated Buddha's interference. The first was that some monks who had their *vāssavāsa* at Sāvatthi decided that they would not give ordination to any body during the rains. A grandson of Visākhā sought ordination from them at that time and they declined as per their mutual arrangement.

When the matter was brought by Visākhā to the notice of Buddha, the monks were cautioned not to refuse ordination during the rains. The second was that Upananda Sakyaputta promised to king Pasenadi that he would spend the *vassā* in his monastery but later, finding a place where many robes were available, he changed his mind and stayed at the latter place. When this fact was brought to the notice of the Teacher he directed that a monk should spend the *vassā* at the place where he promised to do beforehand.

Pavāraṇā—Kosala happened to be the area in which the monks were not very well disciplined. Among the monks during the rainy season retreats, there were quarrels which they wanted to avoid by not conversing with one another. When the Teacher found out this state of things, he prescribed at the close of the retreat the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony, in which every monk, on the auspicious day fixed for it, had to confess their faults if any committed by them during the retreat. Such confession of offences unless serious were absolved then and there. In the performance of this ceremony arose many hitches and difficulties for which Buddha prescribed a number of rules.

Leather shoes—The rules relating to the use of leather (*Vinaya*, I, 179–198) by monks for shoes and other purposes were introduced in Magadha at the instance of Soṇa Kolivisa, a very rich seṭṭhi's son, whose hands and feet were so soft that they used to bleed if he walked bare footed. As Soṇa Kolivisa declined to use shoes as a special privilege, Buddha had to permit all monks to use shoes. There were monks, who misused this permission by taking resort to the use of fancy leather goods for different pur-

poses. When Buddha visited Vārāṇasī he noticed that misuse of his permission to use shoes was being made by certain monks of Isipatana and so he laid down certain restrictions to avert such abuses (*Vinaya*, I, 189). After leaving Banaras he went to Sāvatthī where he heard that some monks were sporting with, or riding on, cows and using carts as conveyances, and so he laid down the rule prohibiting monks from riding any vehicle, exception being made in the case of only sick monks (*Vinaya*, I, 191).

Medicaments—At first Buddha prescribed heifer's urine and such other things (*putimuttabhesajjam*) for the use of his monks as medicines. When he was staying at Sāvatthī he noticed that the monks were getting pale and thin on account of autumnal (*sāradakāni*) illness and were unable to digest anything. He thereupon made up his mind to permit his disciples to use medicines, which, of course, must not be any solid food. He allowed the monks to take clarified butter, cream, oil, honey and molasses at all times of the day. Later on, he increased the number of medicinal items to animal fats, medicinal roots, herbs, leaves, fruits, gums, salts, and such other drugs prescribed in the *Āyurveda-śāstra,* including even raw meat and blood, besides gruels and broths. Use of hot bath, purgatives, ointments, and dressing of wounds were also recommended in case of necessity. Receptacles, instruments, and other articles required for preparing medicines or applying ointments, letting of blood by lancets, use of surgical appliances and requisites were sanctioned as a matter of course. Surgical operation was prohibited only in case of wounds which were within two inches of the anus. The monks,

in fact, were allowed to take almost all medicinal and surgical aids available at the time, the only condition being that they in the name of medicines must not drift to excesses or enjoy the comforts of a householder.

At Banaras he however prohibited use of meat of any kind as medicines. At Sāvatthī he permitted the monks to eat all kinds of fruits, provided that the monks gave to the gardener a half of the produce of a tree or plant, the seeds of which were supplied by an outsider and sown in the compound of the monastery. Likewise a half to the owner of the land, .f it belonged to an outsider but the seeds sown were supplied by the monks. He rounded up his directions about the use of medicaments by saying that the monks could take any food as medicine if not expressly inter-dicted by him or were not declared by him as improper.

Kaṭhina—While staying at Sāvatthī, Buddha introduced the Kaṭhina ceremony at the close of the rainy season retreat. It was occasioned by thirty monks of Pāṭheyya who were all observers of the *dhūtaṅga*[1] precepts. They wanted

[1] The thirteen rigorous practices approved by Buddha are :—

1. *paṁsukulıkangam*:—to wear robes made of rags collected from dust heaps of streets, cemeteries etc.
2. *tecivarikaṅgam*=to have not more than three robes, i.e., one each of sanghāṭi, uttarāsaṅga and antarāvāsaka and even for washing or colouring one must manage with these three only.
3. *piṇḍapātikaṅgam*=to eat food collected by begging only from door to door and avoid any of the fourteen kinds of food-offerings permitted in the Vinaya. The fourteen kinds are : saṅghabhattaṁ, uddesabh, nimantanabh, salakabh, pakkhikaṁ, uposathikaṁ, pātipadikam, āgantukabh, gamikabh, gılānabh, gilānuppaṭṭhakābh, vihārabh. dhūrabh, varakabh

to reach Sāvatthī before the rains but failed to do so and passed the retreat at Sāketa, six yojanas from Sāvatthī. They finished the Pavāraṇā ceremony and went to Sāvatthī with wet and dirty clothes and met Buddha, who exchanged with them the usual greetings. The teacher pondered over their anxiety to see him and at the same time their keenness in observing the rules of *vassāvāsa*. He thereupon prescribed the ceremony of Kaṭhina, which allowed the monks certain privileges in order to cut, sew and dye the clothes received by them on the Pavāraṇā day from the faithful devotees for making robes and distributing those among

4. *sapadānacārikaṅgam* = to beg food from house to house consecutively and without any omission. Mahākassapa is said to have been the foremost in this dhutaṅga, see Vism, p. 68.
5. *ekāsanikaṅgam* = to take meal at one sitting, i.e., if one is required to stand up or move to show respect to his teacher or do some other work he cannot resume his seat and take his food again.
6. *pattapiṇḍikaṅgam* = to possess only one bowl and not a second and to take all kinds of food thrown into it be they tasteful or not.
7. *khalupacchābhattikaṅgam* = not to take any food after finishing or signifying intention of finishing one's meal, even if any be offered (cf. Pacittiya, 35).
8. *āraññikaṅgam* = to dwell only in forests and not on the outskirts of towns or villages, and the forests must be sufficiently far from any locality.
9. *rukkhamūlikaṅgam* = to live in a place without any shed and under a tree, and the tree must not be one of the boundary marks of a parish or one within the compound of a monastery or *cetiya* (sanctuary) or one bearing fruits and so forth.
10. *abbhokāsikaṅgam* = to live in an open space, i.e., neither under a shed nor under a tree but one with this vow as well as

the monks according to one's necessity. To avert abuses of the privileges and irregularity in distribution of the robes a number of rules were framed.

Cīvara—Buddha at first directed his disciples to use robes made out of rags collected from dust heaps (paṁsu-kūla-cīvara). In Kosala there were many who used robes of rags collected from cemeteries and there were occasions when the Teacher had to intervene to settle any dispute about their divisions among monks (*Vinaya*, I, 282). He permitted the monks using such robes to darn and patch them if necessary (*Vinaya*, I, 290). When Jīvaka the famous physician became a lay-devotee and offered him robes of silk, wool and such other materials, which were received by him from kings and rich persons cured by him, Buddha could not decline them, so he relaxed the rule regarding robes and made it optional for the monks to use either robes offered by the householders or robes made

the previous one is permitted to take shelter in a covered place if it be raining, provided he does not run for any shelter to avoid being drenched.

11. *sosānikaṅgam* = to live in a cemetery. Buddhaghosa in explaining what is a suitable cemetery says that it must not be one used by the people of a village but one left unused for at least twelve years, but from the other conditions mentioned by Buddhaghosa (see Vism, p. 97) it seems that he had in mind not a quite unfrequented cemetery.
12. *yathāsanthatikaṅgam* to use whatever bed or seat is allotted to one without questioning or suggesting an alternative and
13. *nesajjikaṅgam* = to spend nights sitting and not lying ; of the three yāmas, one may be spent in walking (cankamana).

of rags. This relaxation gave an opportunity to the householders to offer robes of various costly materials. Buddha therefore laid down the rule that monks could use robes made of linen, cotton, silk, wool hemp and beaten bark (*Khoma, Kappāsa, Koseyyaṁ, Kambalaṁ, Sānaṁ* and *Bhaṅgaṁ*) (*Vinaya*, I, 280-1).

A monk should wear always three pieces of cloths viz., double upper robe (*samghāṭī*), upper garment (*uttarāsaṅga*) and under garment (*antarāvāsaka*), and he must not go to the village without these three pieces. In exceptional cases, e.g., in sickness, in fording a river, and in a few other circumstances (*Vinaya*, I, 298) he could lay aside one or two of the pieces. Whatever robes were offered by the laity to the monks should be distributed equitably among all the monks present at the time. If there be one monk at a place and he received the robes he could keep them for his own use up to the next Kaṭhina ceremony (*Vinaya*, I. 299- 301). Normally all robes offered to a monk or a body of monks belonged to the Saṅgha and the lay-devotees were instructed to make all offerings to the Saṅgha and not to any monk individually.

When Buddha reached Sāvatthī, Visākhā approached him for giving her the privilege of making the following gifts to the monks and nuns :—

(a) Vassikasāṭikaṁ = cloth for use in rains.
(b) Āgantukabhattaṁ = meals for all incoming monks and nuns.
(c) Gamikabhattaṁ = meals for all outgoing monks and nuns.
(d) Gilānabhattaṁ = food for the sick.

(e) Gilānupaṭṭhākabhattaṁ = food for those who nurse the sick.

(f) Gilānabhesajjaṁ - medicines for the sick.

(g) Dhuvayaguṁ - daily supply of rice-gruel to every member of the Saṅgha.

(h) Bhikkhuṇisaṁghassa udakasāṭikaṁ = bathing robes for nuns (*Vinaya*, I, 294).

She also persuaded the Teacher to permit monks to accept towels (mukhapuñchana-colakaṁ).

Articles of DailyUse—Buddha had to go into details about the articles which were fit and proper for the daily life of the monks. These were worked out mostly at Rājagaha, and so we need not here deal with them (vide *Cullavagga*, chapter V). Visākhā obtained permission of Buddha to offer a few such articles of daily use to the saṅgha. These were baskets and brooms (ghatakañ ca sammajjanīñ ca), fans and whisks (of bark, grass, or peacock-feathers) *Vinaya*, II, 130).

At Sāvatthī Visākhā built a two storeyed monastery (Pāsāda) with verandahs supported on pillars shaped like the nails of elephants and offered the same to the Saṅgha. Buddha accepted it and permitted the monks to reside there, though it was a very decorated structure. He also accepted the furnitures and other articles of use of the grandmother of King Pasenadi bestowed to the Saṅgha by the king after her death but asked the monks to use the couches after breaking the legs and removing the cushions, and permitted them to utilise the materials of the cushions for making pillows,and the rest of the covering materials of the furnitures as floor-coverings (*Vinaya*, II, 169).

In this connection, the question was raised whether the articles or parks so received from the laity could be disposed of by the monks. Buddha enjoined that no monk should alienate any of the following properties of a Saṅgha : (a) a park or a hermitage or a monastery including the land on which it was built, (b) furnitures like beds or chairs or pillows, (c) jars or pots made of iron, (d) a razor or axe or hatchet or spade, (e) creepers, bamboos, muñja grass, (f) earth wooden or earthen vessels. These were also not divisible among the resident or incoming monks (*Vinaya*, II, 170). At Ālavi some monks tried to bypass the above restriction by placing a monastery in charge of a monk for a number of years for doing some repair-works whether of a major or a minor nature. Buddha interdicted such attempts (*Vinaya*, II, 172).

Vatta (Conduct and Duties of monks)—It seems that in the latter part of Buddha's life, which was spent mostly at Sāvatthī, the number of monks had grown quite large and there was frequent movement of monks from one monastery to another. In the *Cullavagga* (pp. 208 f) there are detailed instructions for the conduct of the incoming (*āgantuka*), resident (*āvāsika*) and outgoing (*gamika*) monks. Then there are directions for the conduct of monks when going out on a begging round (*piṇḍacārika*) as also for their duties after taking meals in a layman's house (*bhattaggam*). There are also instructions for a monk dwelling in a forest regarding their daily needs. This is followed by several directions for using and cleaning beds and seats, bathrooms and latrines. Lastly, are prescribed the mutual duties of a student (*saddhivihārika*) and his

teacher (*upajjhāya*) which were the same as those of a disciple (*antevāsika*) and his spiritual preceptor (*ācariya*). Some of the regulations are :—

Āgantuka-bhikkhu—The duties of an incoming monk: He should first take off his sandals or shoes, close his umbrella and leave them on one side. Then putting the robes on one shoulder, he should quietly enter into the hermitage, ascertain the place where the resident monks were at the time. He should approach them, keep aside his bowl and robe, take a suitable seat and then enquire about the place where drinking water and food could be had, and after washing his feet by pouring water with one hand and rubbing his feet by the other, he should take his food or drink water. He should find out if there was any cloth for cleaning shoes and use them for his shoes, if necessary, after washing them by water.

If the resident monk be older than him he should salute him and if younger he might have salutation from them. He should then enquire of his sleeping place and bed, the houses to be approached for alms, location of the lattrine and urinals, the mutual arrangements if any among the monks and lastly the time for going out and coming in.

If the monastery be uninhabited, he should enter into it carefully, clean the dust and cobwebs, wipe the walls and floors, dry the floor-coverings, if any, and put out the beds and chairs in the sun. He should then carefully put away his robes and bowl, open the windows and put water in the water jar and do such other necessary things.

Āvāsika and Gamika bhikkhus—In a similar manner the duties of the resident monks and the monks who are leaving a monastery are given in detail.

Bhattaggam (Regulations for begging alms or accepting invitation)—A monk should fully dress himself with the three robes, take his bowl, walk steadily with downcast eyes, take his seat, if offered, quietly, and never overtake another monk. When offered water, he should hold his bowl with both hands, and use it cautiously without sprinkling it here and there. When food is offered he should hold out his bowl with both hands and take the food in proper manner (for details see *Vinaya*, II, 214) and not commence eating unless his fellow brethren have also been served. He must not get up to wash his hands and bowl unless all others have finished their meals.

After meals, the seniormost monk should deliver a religious discourse by way of thanksgiving.

Āraññakas—The duties of a monk dwelling in a forest: He must keep ready for use drinking water, some food, fuel for fire, and walking sticks. He should be aware of the stars and planets, as also of the cardinal points. If he enters into a village he must follow all the instructions given above under *Bhattaggam*.

Likewise there are detailed directions for using and cleaning the bedrooms, furnitures, bathrooms and latrines.

Ācariya-Antevāsika or Upajjhāya-Saddhivihārika—Lastly, the mutual duties of a student and his teacher are briefly as follows: The student is to rise early from his bed, take off his shoes, keep ready the tooth-stick, seat and water for the use of his teacher. He is then to offer to him

rice-gruel in a pot, which he is to clean after the teacher had taken the rice-gruel. He should then sweep the floor. If his teacher wants to go to the village, he is to fetch his robes, bowl and follow him after dressing himself properly. He must not talk when his teacher is engaged in conversation with another person. When the teacher returns from his village round, he should give him water for washing feet, take his robes and bowl, and keep them in their proper place. If the teacher wishes to have a bath, he is to give him hot or cold water as required and then provide him with all requisites for taking bath in the bathroom. In this way many other details are given. If the teacher be found guilty of an offence and punished for same, the student must see that his teacher complies with the restrictions imposed and gets his absolution in time.

The teacher has also to look after his student. The teacher must satisfy the student with discourses and answer his queries. If the student has no robes and bowl, the teacher is to provide him with them. If he falls sick, the teacher must take care of him, nurse him properly, and should he want to go to the village he is to help him by handing over the robes and bowl, dry his robes if wet. He should also give him drinking water after meals and do all the duties which the student is required to do for him. In addition he is to teach his student how to wash or dye his robes and help him in doing the same.

KOSAMBĪ DISPUTE

Kosambī became the scene of a great dispute between the two groups of monks. It was carried to such an excess that even the teacher's personal interference was of

no avail and out of disgust he retired to a forest and preferred to be served by animals than by human beings. The quarrel started with a very flimsy matter. It is said that a monk left some water in a pot in the latrine and did not empty the pot, which was the usual practice. Another monk took offence at this laches, collected some supporters of his both among the monks and the lay-devotees and decided to inflict the ecclesiastical punishment of *Ukkhepana* (Sans. *Utkṣepaṇa*=suspension, see *infra* p. 255)on the offending monk. The latter, who was very learned, obtained some supporters both among monks and laymen. He declared that he had not committed any offence and the *Ukkhepana* was *ultra vires*. The two parties declined to perform ecclesiastical functions together and so there was going to occur a dissension in the Saṅgha (*Saṅghabheda*), which had been described by the Teacher as one of the five heinous offences of the same category as the murder of parents. One party held the uposatha within the prescribed limit and the other did it outside the limit. Buddha explained to both how they were not complying with the rules laid down by him and not maintaining the concord of the Saṅgha. Both the parties began to perform the ecclesiastical acts within the limit but their quarrels became more and more bitter. To enlighten them and to dissuade from indulging in mutual recrimination, he related the story of a former king of Kosala called Dīghiti but that was of no effect. Buddha out of disgust left the place and went to Bālakaloṇākāragāma. He then went to Pācīnavaṁsadāya where he found Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila living in concord and exerting for spiritual advancement. From there he

went to the Pārileyyaka forest where he was served by a lovely elephant. He then went to Sāvatthī and stopped at Jetavana. The lay-devotees of Kosambī became very much displeased with the quarrelling monks and did not show them respect or give alms. So they came to their senses and came to Sāvatthī to have their dispute settled by the Teacher. At that time there were in Jetavana the distinguished disciples, Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallāna, Mahākassapa, Mahākaccāna, Mahākoṭṭhita, Mahākapphina, Mahācunda, Anuruddha, Revata, Upāli, Ānanda, Rāhula and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, who along with Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā heard that the quarrelling monks were coming to Buddha. On that occasion, the Teacher cautioned them against the following eighteen types of unrighteous monks. There are monks who adhere to—

(i) False doctrines as right ;
(ii) Right doctrines as false ;
(iii) False disciplines as right ;
(iv) Right disciplines as false ;
(v & vi) Utterances of Tathāgata as not his utterances and *vice versa*.
(vii & viii) Practices prescribed by Tathāgata as non-prescribed and *vice versa*.
(ix & x) Instructions of Tathāgata as non-instructions and *vice versa*.
(xi & xii) Offences as non-offences and *vice versa*.
(xiii & xiv) Light offences as serious and *vice versa*.
(xv & xvi) Exceptions in offences ss non exceptions and *vice versa*.
(xvii & xviii) Major offences as minor and *vice versa*.

The Teacher then gave further directions how to deal with the quarrelling monks and how to establish concord in the Saṁgha. While he was residing at Jetavana, he rounded up his disciplinary rules by prescribing a number of ecclesiastical punishments to keep his Saṅgha immune from possible dereliction of duties. The punishments are—

(i) Tajjanīya (censure) and Nissaya (remain under the guidance of a teacher)

(ii) Pabbājanīya(temporary removal form the monastery)

(iii) Paṭisāraṇīya (making one ask for pardon)

(iv) Ukkhepanīya (suspension).

(i) *Tajjanīya*—There were many quarrelling monks in and around Sāvatthī. A group of them was called Paṇḍulohitaka, who often picked up quarrels with other monks of their ilk and thus there was frequent discord in the Saṅgha. The Teacher condemned them all as undeserving persons to continue as monks and prescribed for them the *tajjanīyakamma* (Sans. Tarjanīya-karma) i.e., a formal ecclesiastical act in which the guilty person should be first admonished, then reminded of his faults and then he is to be charged with the commission of an offence. This act should be performed in his presence. He should be questioned and made aware of his faults. A monk punished with *tajjanīyakamma* was banned from giving ordination,taking novices as servitors,delivering discourses to monks and nuns etc, (*Vinaya*, II. 5). They could however be taken back in to the saṅgha if they corrected themselves and formally solicited the Saṅgha to withdraw the ban. The same punishment was also given to those

monks who came in frequent contact with the householders.

If a monk so punished and undergoing the disabilities imposed upon him should take part in any ecclesiastical act, he should be punished further (*nissaya-kamma*) and compelled to take a teacher and abide by his instructions. The procedure for inflicting this punishment was the same as the previous one.

(ii) *Pabbājanīya*—The monks of Kiṭāgiri, a place near Sāvatthī, committed many serious offences. For them the Teacher prescribed *pabbājanīyakamma*, by which ecclesiastical act the guilty monks were not allowed to stay in the monastery. The procedure for inflicting the punishment as also for absolution was similar to that of the *Tajjanīya-kamma*.

(iii) *Paṭisāraṇīya*—Sudhamma bhikkhu of Macchikāsaṇḍa once criticised the good lay-devotee Cittagahapati. He was reprimanded by the Teacher, who prescribed for monks like him the *Paṭisāraṇīyakamma*. This act is to be performed in the same way as the previous one. The guilty monk could get absolution if he was pardoned by the insulted householder.

(iv) *Ukkhepanīya*—Channa bhikkhu of Kosambī committed an offence but he would not acknowledge it as such. The Teacher prescribed for such cases *Ukkhepanīyakamma*. This act has also to be performed in the same way as the previous ones. A monk so punished was debarred from staying in the monastery. He was not to be shown respects and courtesies by other monks. His other disabilities were the same as those of the previous ones. The same punish-

ment was given also to those monks who like Ariṭṭha held certain wrong views, e.g., the hindrances to Nirvāṇa as enumerated by the Teacher were not necessarily so.

There were a few other ecclesiastical punishments prescribed by the Teacher while residing at Sāvatthī. They are:

(i) *Parivāsa* (probation). A monk is not permitted to do any ecclesiastical act for a certain period and he was also not shown due respects and courtesies by his fellow brethren.

(ii) *Mānatta* is the same as above only the period of probation is limited to six days.

(iii) *Mulāya paṭikassanā* is prescribed for a monk who has been put on probation but fails to abide by the conditions imposed on him. In such cases his period of probation commences anew and the days already passed by him in probation are treated as cancelled.

Daṇḍakamma and Āvaraṇa: Buddha gave sanction to the formation of the order of nuns at Vesāli, where he imposed the eight disabilities on women (see p. 101 n.). The nuns were required to observe all the disciplinary rules laid down for the monks. There were a few additional rules for keeping the monks and nuns apart as also for certain ecclesiastical acts, in which the nuns had to take directions from the monks. At Sāvatthī there were some complaints about certain monks behaving improperly with the nuns. In order to stop it, Buddha laid down a few rules, making the monks liable to the punishment of *daṇḍakamma,* an ecclesiastical act by which the monks were declared as not eligible for salutation by the nuns. If the nuns were guilty of similar offences, they

were also to be punished by the act of *āvaraṇa*, i.e., they were to be debarred from entering the monastery of monks, failing it they were to be given exhortation (*ovāda*) and excluded from the Uposatha assemblies (*Vinaya*, II, 226).

At Sāvatthī Buddha made the special provision for nuns that they could be given the higher ordination by proxy in cases where the nuns could not go to the monastery of monks on account of dangers on the way (*Vinaya*, II, 277).

Though the other rules for the guidance of nuns were framed outside Kosala, all the rules of the *Bhikkhuṇī-pātimokkha* were compiled at Sāvatthī.

CHAPTER XII

UPAGUPTA AND AŚOKA

We have so far dealt with the history and teachings of Buddhism of the pre-Aśokan period. It is an well established fact that the Buddhist Saṅgha split up into two main factions known as *Thera (or Sthavira)-vāda* and *Mahāsāṅghikas,* a century after Buddha's demise. The former represented the orthodox conservative school of thought while the latter the progressive, which, in course of time, became the precursor of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Uttar Pradesh, however, did not witness the growth and development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which had its early centre in the south in the Andhra countries and late centres in the north in Gandhāra, Kashmir and in Central Asia. Uttar Pradesh, however, nurtured a school of Buddhism, which was slightly different from the pristine orthodox system. It was known as Sarvāstivāda, a Sanskritic Hīnyāna School, the doctrine of which is dubbed by the Chinese and European scholars as "Realism." The doctrines of this School were subjected to vehement criticism by Mahāyāna philosophers like Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, who upheld "non-realism" (*śūnyatā*) or idealism (*vijñaptimātratā*).

Mathurā was selected by the Sarvāstivādins as the venue of their early activities and it was from this place they later on fanned out to Gandhāra and Kāshmir and ultimately to Central Asia, China, and other countries. The legend about the selection of Mathurā as the rendezvous of the Sarvāstivādins runs as follows :—Emperor Aśoka, accord-

ing to the Ceylonese chronicles, was converted by his nephew Nigrodha Sāmaṇera. After his conversion he became displeased with the unrestrained Brāhmaṇas, who were being fed every day at the palace from his father's time, and replaced them by well-behaved and self-controlled Buddhist monks. He then met the leading monk-saint of the time, Moggaliputta, Tissa and learnt from him that there were eightyfour discourses delivered by the Teacher, and so he issued orders to his architects to erect 84,000 monasteries and *stūpas* all over his empire and spent incalculable wealth for the same. He himself had the Aśokārāma built at Pāṭaliputta under the supervision of Indagutta. He had an image of Buddha made by Mahākāla, the king of Nāgas. The erection of the monasteries and *stūpas* was completed within three years. He built *caityas* at the sites sanctified by Buddha's presence. As these lavish donations made to the Buddhist church made him only a supporter (*dāyaka*) and not a relative or beneficiary (*dāyāda*) of the Saṅgha, he permitted his son Mahinda and daughter Saṃghamittā to become a monk and a nun and entrusted them with the work of propagating Buddhism in Ceylon.

At this time there occurred bickerings and unpleasantness among the monks of Pāṭaliputra, and so out of disgust, Moggaliputta Tissa left the city and stayed for seven years in a hill near Ahogaṅga. The fortnightly ceremony of Uposatha could not be held at Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputta for seven years. This dispute among the monks centred round the fact that in Aśoka's time, many sects came into being and they differed from one another on certain disciplinary rules and so the followers of one sect could not

recognize the followers of another sect as pure as was required as a preliminary condition for holding an *Uposatha* and then again there was the prohibition in the Vinaya of holding separate Uposatha assemblies within the same parish. To tide over this difficulty, it is stated in the Ceylonese chronicles that under the auspices of Aśoka, a Council of monks was held and all those, who did not subscribe to the principles and disciplinary rules of Theravāda (Vibhajjavāda), were compelled to leave the place. The session of this Council is not admitted in the traditions preserved in Sanskrit, showing thereby that the non-Theravādins did not recognise the validity of the Council.

Hiuen-Tsang (Watters, I, p. 267) records a tradition which throws some light on this event. It runs as follows : There were at the capital (Pāṭaliputra) 500 arhats and 500 non-arhats. Among the latter was one Mahādeva, native of Mathurā, who was "a man of great learning and wisdom, a subtle investigator of name and reality," and who was supported by the emperor. His views were challenged by other monks, who finding the place uncongenial left it and went to Kāshmir. Aśoka regretted his choice of supporting a wicked monk and atoned for his error by building monasteries in Kāshmir for the good monks. From this account of the Chinese traveller it is evident that some monks left Pāṭaliputra to establish a centre in the north.

In all traditions, Madhyāntika is reported to have gone to Kāshmir and established the religion there a hundred years after Buddha's death. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* (ch. XII) also Majjhantika is mentioned as the missionary sent by Aśoka to propagate Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kāshmir.

Madhyāntika was a disciple of Ānanda and a contemporary of Sānavāsika, who was at first a lay-supporter of Ānanda when the latter was staying at Jetavana. In Tibetan, the tradition is slightly different. According to this tradition Madhyāntika became very popular at Banaras and collected around him so many monks that their presence at Banaras became a burden on the local people and was resented by them. Madhyāntika, thereupon, left the place along with his disciples and went to Uśīra mountain near Mathurā.

Sānavāsika also became a popular preacher of Śrāvastī and had a number of disciples. He probably went to Mathurā at the invitation of its people to subdue the Yakṣas who, it is said, were devastating the country with epidemics.

About the introduction of Buddhism into Mathurā, the tradition preserved in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya-piṭaka*[1] as also in the Chinese version of the *Aśokāvadāna*[2] runs as follows :—

Bhagavān, while traversing the Śūrasena country, which he described as the first place (*ādirājya*) to elect a king (Mahāsammata), reached Mathurā where a green forest appearing as all blue (*nīlanīlā*) on a hill called Urumuṇḍa was pointed out by him to Ānanda. He said that a hundred years after his demise two rich brothers Naṭa and Bhaṭa would build there the Naṭabhaṭavihāra, which would become a congenial place for meditation of monks seeking quietude (*śamatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*). At that time

[1] *Gilgit Mss.*, III, pt. 1 Mama varṣaśataparinirvṛtasya Madhyāndino nāma bhikṣur bhavisaty Ānandasyo bhikṣoh sārdhamvihārī.

[2] *A-yu-wang-tchuan* (=*Aśokāvadāna*) translated by Saṁghabhadra 506 A.D. See Przyluski, *La Légende de l'empereur Aśoka.*

there would be born a spices-dealer whose son Upagupta would be as great a preacher like himself only without the physical signs of a Buddha. He would be ordained by Madhyāndina, a disciple of Ānanda, and would be the last of the dharma-preachers, and pass away from this world at a very old age, when there would be enough sticks of four fingers length to fill up a cave of 18 cubits in length and 12 cubits in breadth. The sticks would be deposited there only by those of his disciples, who would attain *arhathood,* and those would be utilised in his cremation.[1]

When Buddha visited Mathurā, the brāhmaṇas of the place were displeased and felt that their popularity would wane on account of Buddha's presence. They approached their leader Nīlabhūti and requested him to shower abuses on Buddha. Nīlabhūti said that his tongue never uttered a falsehood and it would give just expression to the true character of Buddha, and it so happened that his tongue only gave out words of high praise.

On one occasion Buddha is said to have remarked that Mathurā had five disadvantages (*ādīnavā*), namely, (i) inhabitants of high and low castes, (ii) stumps and thorns, (iii) stones and gravels, (iv) excessive women and (v) many persons taking food only in the last watch of the night.[2] It appears from the Buddhist traditions that Mathurā was a favourite resort of the Yakṣas, probably an unruly tribe, who pestered the inhabitants of the place. Once when

[1] This story appears also in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 349.

[2] *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, pt. i, p. 14-15: Pañceme bhikṣava ādīnavā Mathurāyām. Katame pañca? Utkula-nikulāḥ sthānukaṇṭaka-pradhānā bahu-pāṣāṇa-śarkara-kaṭhallā uccandrabhāktaḥ pracura-mātṛgrāmā iti.

epidemics raged the country its inhabitants approached Buddha to help them in their distress. Buddha went to Mathurā and used to take his meals,collected from the lay-devotees of the place, in the courtyard of the Yakṣa leader, called Gardabha. He came in frequent contact with the Yakṣas and subdued them. This power of the Teacher surprised the people,who agreed at the Teacher's request, to construct some resting places for the use of the Yakṣas and who in their turn promised not to pester them any further.

From Mathurā, Buddha passed through Otalā and reached Vairambha, where he spent along with his 500 disciples the rainy season retreat undergoing extreme hardhsip for food due to the famine breaking out there. From Vairambha, he proceeded to Ayodhyā, the capital of South Pañcāla and resided on the bank of the Ganges where he delivered the *Dāruskandhasūtra*. From Ayodhyā, Buddha passed on to Sāketa, thence to Śrāvastī and Nagarabindu, a Brāhmaṇa village of Kośala and lastly to Vaiśālī.

In the Pāli tradition, Buddha's activities in Mathurā are ignored altogether though the account of Buddha's visit to Verañja (Vairambha), a place on the west of Mathurā, appears in many texts including the *Mahāvagga*. (See above p. 104.) It may be that the Sarvāstivādins, in order to establish their antiquity and originality, had woven the stories of Buddha's visit to Mathurā and of his forecast regarding the propagation of Buddhism in Mathurā by Upagupta, in Kāshmir by Madhyāntika and Dhītika and the erection of stūpas by Kaniṣka.

In the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 348), Buddha's visit to Mathurā is timed a little before his demise (*parinirvāṇakālasamaye*),

when he made the forecast about the advent of Upagupta, but in this account, the only difference is that the credit of converting and ultimately ordaining Upagupta is given to a monk called Śāṇakavāsī. It is rather difficult with the confusing evidences at our disposal to ascertain whether Madhyāndina or Śāṇakavāsī was the spiritual preceptor of Upagupta and whether the former is identical with the Aśokan missionary Majjhantika and the latter with Sambhuta Śānavāsī, one of the distinguished monks of the second Buddhist synod. After ordination several monks were given very similar, often identical, names and this causes a lot of confusion as we have in the case of the name Nāgārjuna. In the *Aśokāvadāna* (Chinese version) it is stated that both Madhyāndima and Śāṇakavāsī were disciples of Ānanda, who at the time of his *parinirvāṇa* at Vaiśālī. instructed Madhyāndina to proceed to Kashmir and Śāṇakavāsī to Mathurā to propagate the religion. As Madhyāndina's name is associated more with the conversion of Kashmir and not Mathurā we should give preference to the *Divyāvadāna* tradition that Śāṇakavāsī was the spiritual preceptor of Upagupta, the account of whose admission into the Buddhist order is related in this text thus : Śāṇakavāsī used to visit the rich spices-dealer's house for alms. One day he went there without any attending novice. The spices-dealer, noticing this, promised to give him one of his sons as his attendant. He however failed to keep his promise when his first two sons were born. When his third son Upagupta was born, he could not avoid *Śāṇakavāsī* any further and agreed to allow him when he had grown up to become his attendant. When Upagupta was work-

ing as an assistant in his father's business of a spices-dealer, he was approached by Vāsavadattā, a courtezan of Mathurā.

The episode of Vāsavadattā is given a prominent place in all the biographies of Upagupta. It is said that Vāsavadattā, a famous courtezan of exquisite beauty, became enamoured of Upagupta but her repeated advances through her maid-servant were rejected by Upagupta with the words that the proper time had not yet arrived for his meeting with Vāsavadattā. One day Vāsavadattā entertained a few rich traders who came there from other countries. On getting this news, the king of Mathurā punished her by cutting her nose and ears and left her in a cemetery. When thus disfigured and suffering extreme pains, she was approached by Upagupta, who then told her that the proper time of his visit had arrived and so he had come to her. She was then consoled by discourses dealing with the evils and impermanence of human body. She had the first vision of the four truths and regained her former health and appearance but with a mind dissociated from all worldly attachments. Upagupta also advanced after this discourse up to the Anāgāmi stage.

After this event, Upagupta was formally ordained by Śāṇakavāsī at Naṭabhaṭa forest monastery and soon attained *arhathood.*

Upagupta commenced his work of preaching the truths of Buddhism and made a large number of converts. His power of delivering discourses frightened Māra, who inspite of his utmost exertions failed to check the flow of listeners. Upagupta brought Māra under control and wanted him to show the likeness of Buddha. His wishes were

complied with by Māra and he was deeply moved to see the glorious appearance of his revered Teacher.

He then came to know that Aśoka wanted to commemorate the sites sanctified by Buddha's presence by stūpas and other monuments and was looking for him as a guide. He proceeded to Pāṭaliputra by the river Ganges and met him there. He then pointed out to him all the places which were associated with the main events of Buddha's life, as also the places where passed away his distinguished disciples. Accordingto his suggestions Aśoka erected monuments at the sites so selected.

Upagupta lived up to a good old age, converting a large number of persons, many of whom became *arhats*. It is said that the small sticks stacked by his arhat-disciples were utilised for the cremation of his earthly remains. (see above, p. 260).

According to Tāranātha, Upagupta selected Dhītika as his successor. Dhītika was the son of a wealthy Brāhmaṇa of Ujjenī. He learned all the Brāhmaṇic śāstras and became a teacher of 500 Brāhmaṇa students. He had a retiring disposition. After his father's death, he became a wandering ascetic (*parivrājaka*) and met Upagupta at Mathurā. He was much impressed by Upagupta's discourses and became his disciple. In course of time, he attained wide popularity and propagated the teachings upto Kashmir and Gandhāra, where was ruling at that time King Menander, who became his lay-devotee. King Menander's interest in Buddhism is revealed in the well-known Pāli text, entitled *Milindapañha*.

Upagupta occupied a very high place in the hierarchy of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism and in many

Avadānas, his biography appears in detail. In very late works like *Śṛṅgabherī*, and *Vratāvadānamālā*, the author mentioned Upagupta as the propounder of the rituals and ceremonies embodied in them, evidently with the object of making the contents of their works more authoritative. In the Avadānas, however, Upagupta is not credited with the authorship of any treatise. It is only in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (II. 44), there is a reference to his authorship of the *Neṭrpada-śāstra* in connection with the controversy whether the Tathāgata attained the meditation of cessation of all activities (*nirodha-samāpatti*) when he was in the training stage (śaikṣa) as a Bodhisattva and subsequently acquired the knowledge that it was his last existence (*kṣayajñāna*) or he attained both of them, viz., *nirodha-samāpatti* and *kṣayajñāna* one immediately after the other, in his last existence when he attained *Bodhi*. The former opinion was held by the Sarvāstivādins or Vaibhāṣikas of the west (Pāścātyas, i.e., Gandhāra) while the latter opinion was given by Upagupta in his *Netṛpadaśāstra*. This reference to Upagupta proves that he must have been a very learned monk and an author of treatises and his opinions were valued as those of the Sarvāstivādins or Vaibhāṣikas of Mathurā. Watters in his *Yuan Chwang* (I, p. 226-7) remarks that the five Vinaya texts of the Mahāsāṅghika, Dharmagupta, Mahiśāṣaka, Kāśyapīya and Sarvāstivāda were redactions made by the five disciples of Upagupta. This statement, however, needs further evidences. In conclusion, it may be stated that Upagupta was not only a versatile preacher but an important writer of the Mathurā-Vaibhāṣika School of Buddhism.

CHAPTER XIII

SARVĀSTIVĀDINS AND SAMMITĪYAS IN UTTAR PRADESH

TWO schools of early Buddhism, viz., Sarvāstivāda and Sammitīya including Vātsīputrīya (= Vajjiputtaka) became popular in Uttar Pradesh. Of these two the Sarvāstivādins, who had their main centre at Mathurā, gained wider popularity than the Sammitīyas in the earlier period from the 1st century to 4th or 5th century A.D. The Sammitīyas made their headway from the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and vied with the Sarvāstivādins in preaching their doctrines at Mathurā and elsewhere. The earliest inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period indicate the predominance of the Sarvāstivādins, particularly in the region of Mathurā, the Sammitīyas occupying a position of less importance. From the 4th century A.D., the inscriptions indicate that the Sammitīyas were increasing in the number of their adherents, reaching in the reign of king Harṣavardhana the peak of their popularity.

(I) SARVĀSTIVĀDA

In the previous chapter, it has been shown that during the reign of Aśoka, the Sarvāstivādins did not find a congenial home in Pāṭaliputra, rather Magadha and migrated to the north. They founded two centres one in Kashmir under the leadership of venerable Madhyāntika and the

other at Mathurā under that of venerable Upagupta. Madhyāntika was the direct disciple of Ānanda while Upagupta was the disciple of Śāṇavāsika, another disciple of Ānanda. The Sarvāstivādins therefore can claim Ānanda as their first patriarch, but the Tibetan (Bu-ston) traditions state that they claimed as their founder Rāhulabhadra of the Kṣatriya Caste "renowned for his devotion to discipline." In the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* (pp. 714, 719) a teacher is mentioned as Sthavira Rāhula.

The branching out of the Sarvāstivādins from the Sthaviravādins, the original orthodox system, is given thus in the Ceylonese chronicles : For one hundred years after Buddha's demise there was only one school of Buddhism, Theravāda (Sthaviravāda). Then after the second council it was split up into two factions, viz., Theravāda and Mahāsāṃghika. Both of these sects were further subdivided, the former into twelve and the latter into six. The Theravādins were first sub-divided into two sects, called Mahiṃsāsaka and Vajjiputtaka (Vātsīputrīya) and out of the former branched off the Sabbatthavādīs (Sarvāstivādins). Śāṇavāsika, the teacher of Upagupta, took the side of the Theravādins in the Second Council, and when he was very old, he ordained Upagupta at Mathurā and so the time of orign of the Sarvāstivadins should be placed about 150 years after Buddha's demise, and this is also supported by the order of secession of sects as stated in the Ceylonese chronicles. According to Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (in Tibetan), the Sarvāstivādins branched off from the Sthaviras in the 3rd century after Buddha's parinirvāṇa. This tradition is corroborated by Bhavya,

I-tsing and Vinītadeva (8th century A.D.) as also the author of the *Varṣagraparipṛcchāsūtra*. I-tsing speaks of four main divisions of the Buddhist Saṅgha, of which one was Sarvāstivāda, the other three were Sthavira, Sammitīya and Mahāsāṅghika. The doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda, particularly Kātyāyanīputra's contention in his *Jñāna-prasthāna-sūtra* is that objects exist in the past, present and future. It was refuted by Moggaliputta Tissa, author of the *Kathāvatthu*, the composition of which is assigned to the time of the Third Council held during the reign of Aśoka. It was perhaps on account of this refutation that Aśoka took up the cause of the Sthaviravādins, of which Moggaliputta Tissa was the spokesman and caused the flight of the Sarvāstivādins to Kashmir.

There are a few inscriptions dating from the 2nd to 4th century A.D., which attest the presence of the Sarvāstivādins in Peshawar, Kashmir, Mathurā, Śrāvastī, Baluchistan and Banaras (Sarnath). Three of these places are in Uttar Pradesh. The earliest of the three inscriptions (1st century B.C.) was found at Mathurā (Mathurā Lion-Capital), Inscriptions of the time of Rañjuvula and Soḍāsa It runs as follows :—

(a) By the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Rājula, the daughter of the prince Kharoasta, the mother of Nanda Diaka along with others was established at this site which is just outside the consecrated boundary (*niḥsima*) the relic of Bhagavān Śākyamuni, the Buddha, and was erected a stone pillar crowned by a lion, and was built a monastery (Saṅgharāma) for the acceptance of the monks of the four quarters (particularly) the Sarvāstivādins.

(b) In the reign of Kṣatrapa Soḍāsa, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rājula, by Udaya, a disciple of Ācārya Buddhadeva, along with prince Khalamasa and Maja as assenting parties (*anumodakā*) was made the gift of a cave-dwelling (*guhā-vihāra*) to Buddhila of Nagaraka for the acceptance of Śarvāstivāda monks.

(c) In the reign of Kṣatrapa Soḍāsa, the gift of some lands was made to Ācārya Buddhila of Nagaraka, who smashed the arguments of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Adoration to all Buddhas, to Dharma, to Saṅgha and to the Sakas of Śaka country etc.

The above mentioned inscriptions distinctly prove that the early Saka rulers were supporters of Buddhism, particularly of the Sarvāstivādins, one of whose centres of activities was then at Mathurā. Buddhila, a Sarvāstivāda teacher must have earned a great reputation as a disputant defeating some Mahāsāṃghika teachers in philosophical controversies, and was the recipient of gifts from distinguished personages. There is also mention of another noted teacher called Ācārya Buddhadeva. At Set Mahet has been found an elliptic clay sealing inscribed with the name "Buddhadeva" in late Gupta script (ASR. 1907-8, p. 128). Yaśomitra in his commentray (*Kośa-vyākhyā*, V. 26, IX. 12) refers to Sthavira Buddhadeva as an authority on Sarvāstivāda doctrines and states that one of his preceding teachers was Sthavira Nāgasena, who was a contemporary of king Menander. Buddhadeva interpreted the Sarvāstivāda doctrine that "all exists (Sarvāstitva) as relative existence (anyathānyathātva).[1] It is rather risky

[1] Kośa-vyākhyā (Jap. ed.), p. 470.

to identify Buddhadeva of the inscription with the teacher Buddhadeva mentioned by Yaśomitra as it was a common practice among the Buddhist monks to have identical appellations.

There is another inscription at Mathurā (Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription) of Huviṣka (111A.D.) in which the installation of a Bodhisattva image is attributed to two nuns, both of whom were female disciples of Bhikṣu Bala, master of Tripiṭaka and one of the nuns Dhanavatī was a niece (sister's son) of Bhikṣu Buddhamitra, also a master of Tripiṭaka. This inscription evidently refers to an image of Siddhārtha Gautama before his attainment of *bodhi*, and not a Mahāyanic image, as the preceptor of the nun is described as a "Tripiṭaka" attributed only to the Hīnayānists. That Bala was a Sarvāstivādin is established by two other inscriptions discovered at Śrāvastī, viz., (a) Set Mahet Stone Umbrella staff and (b) Image inscriptions of Kaniṣka I which bear the same text. During the reign of Kaniṣka (78-101 A.D.) the gift of an umbrella and a staff, with a Bodhisattva (image) was made by Bhikṣu Bala, master of Tripiṭaka and a disciple of Puṣpabuddhi and these two were installed in the promenade (*caṅkama*) around the Kauśāmbī-kuṭī, which was a part of Jetavanārāma and where probably Buddha was staying when he admonished the monks of Kauśāmbī. A similar gift was made at Sarnath by Bhiskṣu Bala, disciple of Puṣpabuddhi (Sarnath Buddhist image inscriptions of Kaniṣka I) and these were installed in the promenade (*caṅkama*) used by Bhagavān (for his meditation). The gift was made by Bhikṣu Bala, who wished to share his merits with his

parents, his disciples and students, with another monk called Buddhamitra, master of Tripiṭaka, as also with Kṣatrapa Vanaspara and Kharapallan. Both Buddhamitra and Bala were adherents of the Sarvāstivāda sect, hence it can be inferred that at Sarnath also resided a few Sarvāstivādins during the reign of Kaniṣka. On the south side of the Jagat Singh stūpa the following inscription was discovered on the topmost step of the stone stairs "ācāryyānāṃ Sarvāstivādināṁ parigraha". Dr. Vogel assigns this inscription to the 2nd century A.D.[1] This inscription is repeated on a "rail surrounding the old *stupa* in the south chapel of the main shrine." The second inscription on the Aśokan pillar at Sarnath, mentioning the name of Rājā Aśvaghoṣa was probably dedicated to the Sarvāstivādins, which appellation was unfortunately obliterated. The third inscription on thes ame pillar reads as follows: "ā (cā) ryyānāṁ Sa (mmi) tiyānāṁ parigraha Vātsīputrikānāṁ."[2] From these citations of the two sects, Sarvāstivāda and Sammitīyas, it may be inferred that the Sarvāstivāda occupied a strong position at Sarnath upto the 2nd century A.D. and thereafter the Sammitīyas attained greater popularity. The two sects might have lived together for some time but in any case by Hiuen-Tsang's time the Sarvāstivādins left the place leaving there the monks of the Sammitīya school only

The find of an inscription of the 'Kushana period in pure Pāli'[3] leads us to conclude that the Sthaviravādins also

[1] *ASR.*, 1907-8, p. 73.

[2] Sahni, Catalogue of Sarnath Museum, p. 30-31.

[3] The Pāli Inscription reads as follows:—

resided there at a very early date perhaps before the Sarvāstivādins attained prominence there.

The Sammitīyas also lost their importance some time after Harṣavardhana and were supplanted by the Mahāyānists.

There is another inscription discovered at Mankuwar (Allahabad district) (Mankuwar Buddhist stone Image Inscription of Kumāragupta I—448A.D.) in which an image of Buddha was installed by Bhikṣu Buddhamitra. Paramārtha writes that Vasubandhu's teacher was Buddhamitra. In Tanjur (vol.no, p. 32) appears the name of Buddhamitra who with Sthavira Bhūtika made a collection of Buddha's sayings, 800 years after Buddha's demise.[1] Frauwallner in her dissertation on the date of Vasubandhu (Serie Orientale, Roma, 1951) is inclined to identify Buddhamitra of the Mankuwar Inscription with Buddhamitra the teacher of Vasubandhu.

There are also a few inscriptions which mention the existence of the adherents of the Sammitīyas and Mahāsaṅghikas at Mathurā and Sarnath along with the Sarvāstivādins.

The above inscriptional evidences can be supplemented by the records of the Chinese pilgrims, particularly Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing. Fa Hian did not take notice of the

(1) Cattārimāni bhikkhave ariyasaccāni.
(2) Katamāni cattāri—dukkhaṃ bhikkhave ariyasaccaṁ.
(3) dukkhasamudayo ariyasaccaṃ dukkhanirodho ariyasaccaṁ.
(4) dukkhanirodhagāmini ca paṭipadā ariyasaccaṃ.

[1] Schiefner, Tārānātha, p. 299.

sectarian development of Buddhism, while Hiuen-tsang took special note of the three major sects, viz., the Sammitīya, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṁghika. Of these three, he writes that the Sarvāstivādins had 16000 monks residing in more than 500 monasteries which were scattered all over Central Asia (Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha), north Afghanistan and Madhydeśa on the bank of the Ganges, starting from the north-east and south-east to the extreme north-west of India. Within Uttar Pradesh, he attributed to the Sarvāstivadins only three monasteries, one with 500 monks at Kanauj, the second with 200 monks at Hayamukha (near Prayāg), and the third with 2000 monks at Vārāṇasī. He referred to the monks of Paryātra (near Mathurā), Thāneswar (Sthāneswar), Goviṣaṇa (near Saṅkāśya), Prayāga and Kauśāmbī as simply Hīnayānists, which might include the Sarvāstivādins. The monks in Mathurā, Kanauj and Ayodhyā, he writes, were both Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists (see also p. 211-2). I-tsing speaks of the geographical distribution of Buddhist sects in a very general manner. He writes that the majority of monks in Magadha and nearly the whole community of Buddhists of North India were Mūla-sarvāstivādins, the adherents of which sect were also prevalent in Java, Sumatra, Campa and South China.

It is evident from the above that during five centuries from the 2nd to the 7th century A. D., the Sarvāstivādins were existing in the extreme north-west, Kashmīr, Gandhāra Uddīyāna and Kapiśa and in the Ganges Valley. The Hūṇa invasion of the 6th century very likely drove the Sarvāstivādins from the north-west to Central India.

Tāranātha records that during the Pāla period (9th-10th century) many sects went out of existence leaving only six sects of which one was that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. All the above mentioned evidences establish that the Sarvāstivādins with their later phase the Mūlasarvāstivādins had been in continuous existence from the third century B.C. to the tenth century A. D. in Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere.

SARVĀSTIVĀDA TRIPIṬAKA

The Sarvāstivādins had a complete Tripiṭaka of their own, written in Sanskrit, corresponding to the Pāli Tripiṭaka of the Theravādins. Fragments of their Sūtra and Vinaya Piṭakas, a complete Prātimokṣa-sūtra have been discovered in Central Asia written on birch-bark in early Gupta Characters.[1] V. A. Smith and W. Hoey found Buddhist sūtras in Sanskrit written on bricks, in the ruins of Gopalpur of about 250-400 A.D.[2] In Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, there are a few quotations from the Sanskrit Tripiṭaka like Udāyisūtra (p. 164), Mahācundasūtra (p. 353), Brahmajālasūtra (p. 420) Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya (p. 374),[3] similarly there are also a few quotations in Kamalaśīla's commentary on Tattvasaṅgraha.

These fragments and quotations establish beyond doubt that the Sarvāstivādins had all the five divisions of the Sūtra-piṭaka, viz., Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṁyuktakāgama, Ekottarāgama and Kṣudrakāgama

[1] Vide Hoernle's Manuscripts Remains in Eastern Turkestan.

[2] *JASB* (Proc.) 1896, p. 991.

[3] The page references are to the Japanese edition.

corresponding to the five Nikāyas of the Pāli Sutta-piṭaka. There is also agreement in the names of texts included in the Kṣudrakāgāma and Khuddakanikāya in Pāli, like the *Sutta-nipāta* (*Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyaṇa*), *Udānavarga*, *Dharmapada*, *Sthaviragāthā* (published in Gilgit Manuscripts III), *Vimānavastu* and *Buddhavaṁsa*. The Chinese translation of the Tripiṭaka was wholly based on this Sanskrit version of the Sarvāstivādins. In Akanuma's "Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas," it has been shown that the two versions, Sanskrit and Pāli, have much in common, particularly in the first two Āgamas and Nikāyas, with some difference in the third and fourth. The Chinese Dīrghāgama contains thirty sūtras as against thirtyfour of the Dīgha-nikāya, but the two versions differ widely in the serial order of the sūtras. Likewise the Chinese Madhyamāgama has 222 sutras, of which 133 agree with the Pāli version, the rest being added mostly from the Aṅguttara and a few from the other three Nikāyas.

The two versions of the Saṁyutta Nikāya differ widely. There are fifty groups (Saṁyuktas) in Chinese as against fiftysix in Pāli, of which there is agreement between the two versions in six *Saṁyuktas* only. It incorporates many sūtras of the Aṅguttaranikāya. In view of the fact that many sūtras of the Aṅguttara Nikāya are included in the Madhyam and Saṁyuktakāgamas, the Chinese version of the Ekottarāgama has become much shorter, but still there is some agreement in the contents of the two versions. Prof. Sylvan Lèvi has compared a small portion of the Chinese version(Jap. ed. vol. xiii, 103b-106a),of Ekottarāgama with

the Pāli Aṅguttara Nikāya[1] and has found the following sūtras in both the versions: Kokanadasūtra, Anāthapiṇḍikasūtra, Dīrghanakhasūtra, Sarabhasūtra. (Aṅguttara, vol. V, pp. 196-8 ; 185-189, vol. I, pp. 497-501, 185-188), but he could not trace the two sūtras Parivrājaka-Sthavirasūtra and Brāhmaṇasatyānisūtra in the Pāli text. This comparison gives a rough idea of the relation between the two versions of the fourth Nikāya.

As far as the Vinrya Piṭaka is concerned, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and a few fragments of the *Khandhakas* have been discovered in original Sanskrit, for the rest we have to rely for our information on its Chinese version, the *Daśādhyāyavinaya*. On a comparison of the two, it has been found that the main contents of the two versions have close agreement. The remarkable discovery at Gilgit of a large section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Mahāvagga*) along with the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and *Karmavākya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins has thrown a flood of light on the original Sanskrit version. It may now be safely stated that substantially the Pali and Sanskrit versions agree not only in the main contents but also in details and sometimes one version appears to be based on the other.

The fundamental difference between the two versions is in the serial arrangement of chapters and sections and largely in the incorporation of stories and anecdotes in the Sanskrit version and elimination of the same in Pāli. In fact, the *Avadānas*, even the *Sthaviragāthā* form an integral part of the Sanskrit version of the *Mahāvagga*. The Pāli

[1] Toung Pao, vol. V.

version retains only the disciplinary portions with a few anecdotes here and there. In the stories included in the Pāli *Suttavibhaṅga*, there are many differences in the two versions though the rules deduced from the stories are identical.

The Abhidharma-piṭakas of the Theravādins in Pāli and of the Sarvāstivādins in Sanskrit had, it seems, independent growth. Though both the sects have seven texts, their titles and method of exposition are totally different. The Pali texts have adopted a quaint method of exposition of doctrinal terms by a string of synonyms and homonyms and by classifications and sub-classifications of the terms, while the Sanskrit texts have given a critical exposition and classification of those terms. The titles of the seven texts of the two sects are as follows :—

Sanskrit	*Pali*
(1) Jñānaprasthānasūtra of Ārya Katyāyanīputra with six supplements	(1) Dhammasaṅgaṇi
(2) Prakaraṇapāda of Sthavira Vasumitra	(2) Vibhaṅga
(3) Vijñānakāya of Sthavira Devaśarmā	(3) Yamaka
(4) Dharmaskandha of Ārya Śāriputra	(4) Paṭṭhāna
(5) Prajñaptisāra of Ārya Maudgalyāyāna.	(5) Puggalapaññatti
(6) Dhātukāya of Pūrṇa	(6) Dhātukathā
(7) Saṁgīti-paryāya of Mahakausṭhila.	(7) Kathāvatthu

As the original Sanskrit texts are lost, our best source of information regarding their contents is Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* which claims to be a gist of the huge commentary called *Vibhāṣā* written on the *Jñānaprasthāna-sūtra* in Kashmir. An idea can be formed about the contents of the Abhidharmapiṭaka in Sanskrit from the chapters of the *Abhidharmakośa*, which are as follows: *dhātu* (mental and physical elements), *indriya* (sense-organs and dominant faculties with their functions to cause purity and impurity of a being); *loka-dhātu* (spheres of beings, and their various categories), *karma* (deeds of beings with their effects); *anuśaya* (mental inclinations causing impurities with expositions of Sarvāstivāda doctrines); *āryamārga* (eight-fold path), *jñāna* (knowledge or right view) ; *dhyāna* (meditation) and *pudgala* (refutation of the conception of soul).[1]

Besides Vasubandhu, there was a number of other writers and commentators on Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma like Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Vasumitra, Ghoṣaka and Yaśomitra.

Vasubandhu, it seems, resided mostly in Ayodhyā, when it became the capital of the Gupta rulers. He was such an outstanding figure in the history of Sarvāstivāda school that we feel that it is worth while to study his life written by Paramārtha (499-569 A.D.).[2] The biography of Vasubandhu is as follows :—

[1] For further details about the contents of each text, see *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. II, pp. 131-136.

[2] Translated from Chinese by Takakusu in Toung Pao, V, pp. 269-296.

Six hundred years after Buddha's parinirvāṇa, Kātyayanīputra, a Sarvāstivādin, went to Kashmir and with the help of 500 Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas collected the materials of the Abhidharma Piṭaka in eight sections (*grantha*), which after checking up with the sayings of Buddha, he compiled the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* in 50,000 verses. He then had a commentary (*Vibhāṣā*) written upon it. He invited Aśvaghoṣa of Sāketa, the poet laureate, the treasure of learning, and a saint to Kashmir and entrusted to him the work of putting the commentary in literary Sanskrit. The compilation of the commentary took twelve years. One of the six supplements of the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra*, viz., *Vijñānakāya* was written by Devaśarman, who was a contemporary of Kātyāyanīputra, and a native of Sāketa (Visoka). Kātyāyanīputra interdicted all the monks of Kashmir from letting the *Vibhāṣā* go out of the country lest it should be misinterpreted by outsiders. For four centuries, this interdiction remained effective till it was brought to Ayodhyā by Vasubandhu, who became very curious about the contents of the voluminous treatise Mahāvibhāṣā and went to Kashmir to study it. He appeared there as a semi-lunatic, frequented the assemblies of learned men discussing the contents of the *Vibhāṣā*, and committed the whole text to memory. He returned to Ayodhyā, where he delivered the whole treatise to his disciples who put it into writing. "At the end of each day's lecture, he composed a verse in which he summed up his exposition for the day." Thus a book of 600 verses was composed. He sent a copy of the book to Kashmir with 50 pounds of gold. The Kashmirian

Vaibhāṣikas were taken aback at his wonderful memory and vast knowledge. They added 50 pounds of gold to the same book and returned the book with 100 pounds of gold and requested him to compose a commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the same. He complied with their request but when he was writing the *bhāṣya*, his Sarvāstivāda views had undergone certain changes and so he criticised some of the Vaibhāṣika views from the Sautrāntika standpoint. The criticisms displeased Saṁghabhadra of Kashmir who wanted to meet Vasubandhu to refute his views.

Vasubandhu's vast learning, erudition and ability in disputations drew the attention of the Gupta rulers of the fifth century A.D. He obtained their patronage and was appointed as a tutor of the then Crown Prince Bālāditya (Narasiṃhagupta). He received three lacs of gold coins from King Vikramāditya (Skandagupta) as his reward for writing the *Paramārtha-saptatikā* in which he ably criticised Vārṣagaṇya's disciple Vindhyāvāsa's "Golden Seventy" verses to vindicate the honour of his preceptor Buddhamitra, who suffered defeat in a controversy with Vindhyāvāsa. With the reward received by him, he built three monasteries at Ayodhyā, one for the nuns, the second for the Sarvāstivādins, and the third for the Mahāyānists. He wrote another treatise on Grammar, criticising the thirty-two chapters, of the Vyākaraṇa of Vasurāta, who happened to be the brother-in-law of king Bālāditya, as a revenge for Vasurāta's finding grammatical faults in his writings. For this treatise, he received large sums as reward from the King Bālāditya and his mother. He spent this amount in

building three monasteries, one in Peshawar, the second in Kashmir, and the third in Ayodhyā.

Vasurāta got enraged at Vasubandhu's getting reward from the king, and so he prevailed upon Saṁghabhadra of Kashmir to come to Ayodhyā and to compile a treatise to refute the views of Vasubandhu expressed in his *Kośa-bhāṣya*. Saṁghabhadra wrote two treatises, *Samaya-pradīpa*, and *Nyāyānusāra* challenging the views of Vasubandhu. His challenge however was not taken up by the latter, who was then very old, and who wanted that their writings be left to posterity to find out whose views were right. Thus ends the biography of Vasubandhu written by Paramārtha.

Vasubandhu of the above account, according to Frauwallner, is different from Vasubandhu, brother of Asaṅga of Peshawar. She has adduced evidences to prove that Asaṅga's brother Vasubandhu was born about 320 A.D. and died about 380 A.D., while Vasubandhu, the author of *Paramārtha-saptatīkā* and *Abhidharmakośa* and *bhāṣya*, was born about 400 A.D. He enjoyed the patronage of the Gupta ruler Skandagupta Vikramāditya (C. 455-467) and became the teacher of Narsiṃhagupta Bālāditya (C. 467-473). The fact that these Gupta rulers transferred their capital from Pāṭaliputra to Ayodhyā and that Vasubandhu utilised his rewards in building four monasteries at Ayodhyā lends support to the view of Frauwallner that there were two Vasubandhus and the younger Vasubandhu was the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*. He was a resident

of Ayodhyā and continued to be a Sarvāstivādin with Sautrāntika learnings upto the end of his life.

SARVAṀ ASTI VĀDA

In the *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's treatise on sects, a number of doctrinal views has been attributed to the Sarvāstivādins[1], here we confine ourselves to the exposition of their fundamental doctrine, "all exists" (sarvaṁ asti), from which they derived their name the Sarvāstivāda.

Like the Theravādins, the Sarvāstivādins divide the universe into two categories, viz., constituted (saṁskṛta) and unconstituted (asaṁskṛta). The *Saṁskṛta* is impure (*sāsrava*) and impermanent (*anitya*). It includes all the externals and internals of the phenomenal world. The externals are the four material elements (*bhūta*) and those issued out of them (*bhautika*) i.e., the sense-organs and their respective objects,[2] and the non-mental (*avijñapati*), such as self-restraint (*saṁvara*) and self-unrestraint (*asaṁvara*). The internals are mind (*citta*)[3] and mental states (*caitasikas*),[4] sub-divided into six groups and certain psychological

[1] See Early Monastic Buddhism, II; Bareau *Les sectes bouddhiques.*

[2] Rūpa (11), (a) Viṣaya (5), (i) rūpa, (ii) śabda, (iii) gandha, (iv) rasa, (v) sparśa ;
(b) Indriya (5)
(i) cakṣurindriya, (ii) śrotrendriya, (iii) ghrāṇendriya, (iv) jihvendriya, (v) kāyendriya.
(c) Avijñapti (1) (see Abhidharma Kośa, IV, 39)

[3] Citta (1)

[4] Caitasikas (46)
(a) Mahābhūmika (10)
(i) vedanā, (ii) saṃjñā, (iii) cetanā, (iv) sparśa, (v) chanda,

states but disassociated from mind (*cittaviprayuktas*),[1] which are of fourteen kinds.

The Asaṁkṛtas are pure (*anāsrava*) and eternal (*nitya*). These are (i) space (ākāsa), (ii) final cessation or emancipation with the aid of knowledge (*pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*) and (iii) the same without the aid of knowledge (*aprati-*

By "all exists" (*sarvaṃ asti*), the Sarvāstivādins mean existence of pastness and futurity (*trikāla-sat*) in the present,

(vi) mati or prajñā, (vii) smṛti, (viii) manaskara, (ix) adhimokṣa, (x) samādhi.

(b) Kusala-mahābhūmika (10)
(i) śraddhā, (ii) vīrya, (iii) upekṣā, (iv) hrī, (v) apatrāpya, (vi) alobha, (vii) adveṣa, (viii) ahiṃsā, (ix) praśrabdhi, (x) apramāda.

(c) Kleśa-mahābhūmika (6)
(i) moha, (ii) pramāda, (iii) kausīdya, (iv) aśraddhyā, (v) styāna, (vi) auddhatya.

(d) Akuśala-mahābhūmika (2)
(i) ahrikatā, (ii) anapatrapya.

(e) Upakleśa-bhūmika (10)
(i) krodha, (ii) mrakṣa, (iii) mātsarya, (iv) īrṣyā, (v) pradāsa, (vi) vihiṃsā, (vii) upanāha, (viii) māyā, (ix) śāthya, (x) mada.

(f) Aniyata-bhūmika (8)
(i) kaukṛtya, (ii) middha, (iii) vitarka, (iv) vicāra, (v) rāga, (vi) pratigha, (vii) māna, (viii) vicikitsā.

[1] Citta-viprayuktas (14)
(i) prāpti, (ii) aprāpti, (iii) sabhāgatā, (iv) asaṃjñika, (v) asamjñ-isamāpatti, (vi) nitodha-samāpatti, (vii) jīvita, (viii) jāti, (ix) sthiti, (x) jarā, (xi) anityatā, (xii) nāmakāya, (xiii) padakāya, (xiv) vyañjana-kāya.

and not the eternal existence of phenomenal objects or of their minutest elements, which are, in any case, impermanent but not non-existing like a mirage, or a sky-flower. It is through the realisation of their impermanence and making one's mind completely dissociated from phenomenal objects that an adept can arrest the flow of repeated constitution of his worldly states (*saṁsāra*) and attain full emancipation (*nirodha* = *nirvāṇa*).[1] Hence, the Sarvāstivādins do not mean by "*sarvaṁ asti*" as all exists eternally. They are not eternalists (*Śāśvatavādins*), which view Buddha rejected in toto.

By "sarvaṃ asti" the Sarvāstivādins only state that the phenomenal objects in the present, retain their pastness and futurity. They do not admit that if an object is past, it disappearsa ltogether because they state that though the five sense-organs do not function on them, the mind remains conscious of it because mind has for its object only that which is past. The moment the eyes see an object, the function of eyes ceases leaving the impression of the object on the mind, which retains and recapitulates it, hence the existence of the past object should be admitted, as otherwise mind cannot function (ṣaṇṇām anantarātītaṁ vijñānaṁ yad hi tan manaḥ: *Kośa* I. 17). It is admitted that mind cannot remain by itself and must have a support (cittaṃ sālambanaṁ). If that is so, then it follows that the past object exists as far as mind is concerned, otherwise existence of mind cannot be admitted. Over and above this, there is the saying of Buddha regarding material elements (rūpa) that these include those of the past, present and future

(yat kiñcid rūpam atītānāgatapratyutpannaṃ iti).[1] Hence on the basis of this statement also, the Sarvāstivādins assert that there are phenomenal objects of the past, present and future. Again, Buddha instructed his disciples to dissociate themselves form things of the past and the future; this also implied the existence of objects in the past and future, otherwise how could Buddha give such an instruction. If the past and future objects be non-existent like a mirage or sky-flower, there is no need of exertion for dissociating mind from the objects, for, nobody thinks of dissociation from a mirage or sky-flower. By these arguments the Sarvāstivādins establish that phenomenal objects, though impermanent, exist in the past, present and future. The Sarvāstivāda exponents, however, differed among themselves and interpreted the existence of objects in the past, present and future in diverse ways.

(i) Dharmatrāta states that the objects remain the same and undergo only modal changes (*bhāvānyathātva*), i.e., "in form and quality," giving rise to different notions, such as, past, present and future. A thing originates when it takes new "modes" or "form and quality" and is destroyed when it abandons them. He cites the instance of gold and the ornaments made out of it, as also of milk and curd, pointing out that the gold and the substance of milk, remain the same, though both undergo changes in form and quality by the addition or substraction of some-

[1] Rūpam anityaṁ atītānāgatam, kaḥ punarvādaḥ pratyutpannasya. Evaṁdarśī śrutavānāryaśrāvako' tīte rūpe' napekṣo bhavati, anāgataṃ rūpaṃ nābhinandati pratyutpannasya rūpasya nirvede virāgāya nirodhāya pratipanno bhavati (*Saṁyuktāgama*, III, 14; Kośa, V, 25).

thing else. The modal changes are described as past, present and future, decay and origin, and so forth. A certain object gives up its future "mode or form and quality" and reaches the present "mode." Similarly it abandons its present "mode" and attains the past "mode." If it not been so, the future, present and past objects would be entirely different from one another.

Vasubandhu has criticised this view as similar to the Sāṃkhya doctrine of evolution (*pariṇāma*) admitting, however, the fundamental difference between Sāṁkhya and Dharmatrāta's view that the former upholds the existence of an eternal (*prakṛti*) while Dharmatrāta adheres to the impermanent nature of worldly objects.

(ii) Ghoṣaka states that every phenomenal object has three characteristics, viz., birth, old age and death, and these exist with the object at all times. When a baby is born, milk is drawn from the udder, or a gold ornament is made, it carries with it the other two characteristics, old age and death, which were existing in the baby or milk or gold ornament in a latent form. The presentness (*pratyutpanna*) is distinguished by Ghoṣaka as actual use or application (*samudācāra*) while the other two, past and future, are distinguished as attainable (*prāpti*). The inception of an object is called birth or present while the other two old age and death, which will be forthcoming, are future. When the baby grows old, or milk turns into curd, or the gold ornament is worn out, its old age becomes present, while its inception becomes past and its ultimate decay future. By this argument, Ghoṣaka establishes change in characteristics (*lakṣaṇānythātva*). Dharmatrāta deals with

the object and its mode of form and quality (*dravya* and *bhāva*) separately while Ghoṣaka takes the two as inseparable.

Ghoṣaka argues that if the three characteristics (*lakṣaṇas*) be not existing together and be completely separates (*viyuktaṁsyāt*), then present cannot become past, nor future, cannot become present, and so he concludes that the three time-characteristics exist together. He gives the following illustration : Suppose a man is attached to a woman, he is not thereby wholly detached from other women. The attachment is distinguished by him as actual application (*samudācāra*) and the possibility of his attachment to other women as attainability (*prāpti*).

Vasubandhu criticises the above view as cross-mixture or blending of time (*adhvasaṁkara*). He contends that a past object or characteristic should not be regarded as possessing the characteristic of present and future, in other words, Ghoṣaka attributes three time-characteristics to one object, which is illogical, because one object can have only one time-characteristic.

Again, in the case of living beings (*sattvākhya*), the question of attainability (*prāpti*) may arise but it is not applicable to material objects (*asattvākhya*), as a pitcher does not take up its hardness.

(iii) Vasumitra (1st century A.D.) author of *Paripṛcchā*, *Pañcavastuka* and other treatises[1] states that objects exist in all three times : past, present and future and do not undergo any change either in substance, or in their form and quality or in their characteristics as contended by Dharmatrāta

[1] *Abhidharmakośa* (Jap. ed.) p. 167.

and Ghoṣaka. He holds that it is the activity or function (*kāritra*) that determines the pastness, presentness and futureness of an object (*avasthānyathātva*). When activity is taking place, e.g., when eyes function to see an object, as it is in substance, in form and quality or in characteristics it is called present ; likewise, when the activity ceases, i.e., when eyes have completed seeing an object, the object is regarded as past. Similarly, when the activity will take place with regard to any object, the object is described as future. In other words, in all objects, all the three time-factors are co-existing and it is the activity or function that determines the time or nature of an object (*adhvānah kāritrena vyavasthitāh*). Had there been no co-existence of the time-factors, the past and future would be non-existent like the horns of a hare. Pastness or futurity according to Vasumitra, is neither an error nor absolutely non-existent. Hence all phenomenal objects exist in the past, present and future. He cites the instances of a cipher and its position in a mathematical figure. Just as a cipher placed before the figure 1 has no value, and when placed after the figure 1 it carries the value of 10, so also an object by its activity is determined as past, present and future.

Of the three interpretations stated above, Vasubandhu gives preference to Vasumitra's view, but criticises it also as faulty. Vasubandhu argues that "*kāritra*" according to the doctrine of "all exists" should also be existent along with the object at all times, it is not separable from the object. Being an inseparable property, the *kāritra* should not be distinguished as past, present and future. *Kāritra* again cannot be different from an object (*dharma*) for accord-

ing to the Sarvāstivādins, there is nothing besides *dharmas*, again, if *kāritra* be identical with the object, it cannot be the determinant of pastness, presentness and futurity.

Vasubandhu does not support the Sarvāstivāda view whole-heartedly. He takes here the Sautrāntika view in his criticism of Vasumitra.

(iv) There is a fourth view given by Buddhadeva, who is mentioned in the inscriptions (see above p.270). Buddhadeva states that the phenomenal objects exist at all times; they are denoted as past, present or future relatively (*anyathānyathikatva*). Like Vasumitra he does not agree with the contention of Dharmatrāta and Ghoṣaka that objects undergo change in form and quality or in time-characteristics. He says that an object remains the same at all times, but it is denoted as future with reference to its existence in the past and present, likewise the present is denoted with reference to its existence in the past and future. Similarly the past is denoted with reference to its existence in the present and future. The use of past, present and future depends on the relative existence of an object. He cites the instance of a woman who is denoted both as a daughter and a mother with reference to her father and son. Buddhadeva concludes that every object possesses all the three time-factors at the same time, only one time-factor is pointed out in relation to another. It is something like saying that a certain object is curd in its presentness, milk in its pastness and cream in its futurity. An object, the anterior existence of which is known and not its posterior is denoted as "future," again an object, the anterior and posterior existences of which are known is denoted as

present ; then again, an object, the posterior existence of which is known and not its anterior is denoted as past. In this manner Buddhadeva establishes the existence of all times (*tri-kālasat*).

Vasubandhu criticises this view saying that according to Buddhadeva three time-factors become one (*ekasminn evādhvani trayo' dhvānah prāpnuvantīti*), which is untenable.

(II) SAMMĪTIYA (VĀTSĪPUTRĪYA)

Not long after the Second Council, the Theravādins, as mentioned above, became divided into two sects, Mahīsāsakas and Vajjiputtakas. A few decades later the Mahīsāsakas again became sub-divided into Dharmaguptas and Sarvāstivādas, and the Vajjiputtakas into four sub-sects, of which one was Sammitīya. Other traditions also follow more or less the above order of secession making the rise of the Sammitīyas almost contemporaneous with that of the Sarvāstivādins, and hence their origin should also be placed about 150 to 200 years after Buddha's demise. Vinītadeva states that the Sammitīyas were sub-divided into three sects Kurukullakas, Avantakas and Vātsīputrīyas. The doctrines of the Sammitīyas were so allied to those of the Vajjiputtakas that the commentator of the *Kathāvatthu* writes that the theory of soul (*puggalavāda*) of the Sammitīyas and Vajjiputtakas and of many other non-Buddhistic systems is the same.[1] In the Sanskrit traditions also the Vātsīputrīyas and Sammitīyas[2] are taken together while

[1] *Kathāvatthu -aṭṭhakathā*, p. 8 : Ke pana puggalavādino 'ti. Sāsane vajjiputtakā c'eva sammitīyā ca bahiddhā ca bahū aññatitthiyā.

[2] *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Jap. ed.) p. 699 : Vātsīputrīya-Āryasammatīyah.

discussing the problem of soul, its intermediate existence (antarā-bhava) and its transmigration. In the Sarnath inscription again they are combined with the Vātsīputrīyas which appellation, it seems, became more popular in the later period.

The Pāli and Sanskrit traditions place the origin of the Sammitīyas about the third century B.C. There are only two inscriptions dated in the 2nd and 4th century A.D., attesting to their presence at Mathurā and Sārnath. The earlier inscription being the fifth stone slab inscription of Mathurā[1] which records the installation of an image of the Bodhisattva and its dedication to the Sammitīya monks of Sirivihāra by a monk whose teacher was Dharmaka. Besides the Sirivihāra in Mathurā, the stone slab inscriptions mention three other vihāras, viz., Prāvārika-vihāra, Suvarṇakāra-Vihāra and Cutaka-vihāra. The Cutaka-vihāra was dedicated to the Mahāsaṅghikas. These are Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, very likely, of the reign of Huviṣka (111 A.D.) written in mixed Prākrit and Sanskrit. The later inscription, mentioning this sect was found at Sarnath inscribed on the Aśokan pillar below the Aśokan edict and another inscription. It records a gift to the teachers of the Sammitīyas who were alternatively known as Vātsīputrīya (ācāryānāṁ Sammitīyānāṁ parigraha Vātsīputrikānāṁ) [2] It belongs very likely to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. when the Sammitīyas became more popular than the Sarvāstivādins at Sarnath by

[1] *Ep. Indica*, XIX, pp. 65 f.

[2] Sahani's Catalogue of Sarnath Museum, p. 30-31.

propagating their views and recruiting a large number of monks and nuns.

The Sammitīyas gained prominence at the time of Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.) whose sister Rājyaśrī, it is said, became a bhikṣuṇī of this sect. Hiuen-tsang found several monasteries and adherents of this sect in Ahicchatra, Saṁkāśya, Hayamukha, Viśoka, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Hiraṇyaparvata, Karṇasuvarṇa, Mālava, Valabhi, Ānandapura, Sindh and Avanti. According to Hiuen-tsang's calculation there were nearly 65,000 monks in about 1,000 monasteries, the largest concentration being in Malava, Valabhi and the countries around the lower part of the Indus and the Ganges. I-tsing remarks that the Sammitīyas became the most important branch of the Vātsīputrīyas and surpassed many other sects in their popularity. They had their principal centre in Western India and their second centre was in an area near the mouth of the Ganges. Tārānātha attests to the presence of six sects during the Pāla period (9th. 10th century), of which one was that of the Vātsīputriyas.

The Sammitīyas differed from other sects in many doctrinal points but their fundamental difference was on the theory of soul (*pudgala* = *puggala*) for which they were generally referred to as Pudgalavādins.

The Tibetan historian Bu-ston writes that the Sammitīyas claimed as their founder, Mahākaccāyana, the famous disciple of Buddha, hailing from Avantī. Their robes were similar to those of the Theravādins, who resided mostly in Avantī. It is not unlikely therefore that the Sammitīyas

who were alternatively known as the Avantakas resided along with the Theravādins in Avanti. The concentration of the Sammitīyas in Avanti is also supported by the testimony of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing.

SAMMITĪYA LITERATURE

Very little information is available regarding the Tripiṭaka of the Sammitīyas. Hiuen-tsang writes that he took with him sixteen treatises of the sect. They had no doubt a Vinaya Piṭaka of their own, the Chinese version of which is extant. In Nanjio's Catalogue is mentioned one text called *Sammitīya-nikāya-śāstra* which has been recently translated and analysed with many valuable notes by R. Venkataraman of the Visvabharati University.

PUDGALAVĀDA

Like the Sarvāstivādins the Sammitīyas also differed on many doctrinal points from the Theravādins and other sects. These have been discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* and mentioned in the treatises on sects written by Bhavya, Vasumitra and Vinītadeva.[1] The Pudgalavāda of the Sammitīyas gave a rude shock to the other sectarian teachers who regarded it as almost heretical (*saugataṃ manye*) being a negation of the *Anātman* doctrine of Buddha, and was severely criticised by many writers like the compiler of the *Kathāvatthu*, Vasubandhu and Śāntarakṣita. We have to make out from the criticisms what was the exact position taken by the Sammitīya-Vātsīputriyas regarding the

[1] See *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II; Bareau, *Les sectesbouddbiques du petit vébi.ule* (1955).

con ception of soul and its transmigration but due to a fair agreement among the critics about the views of the Sammitīyas, it is possible to form an idea of their conception of soul and our task has been made much lighter by the publication of Venkataraman's *Sammitīya-nikāya-śāstra.* We propose to discuss here only their fundamental doctrine

The Sammitīya-Vātsīputrīyas hold that Buddha admitted the existence of a soul (*pudgala*) which is not eternal and changeless like that of the non-Buddhists but continues to exist along with the constituents of a being through all its existence, till the attainment of Nirvāṇa where it vanishes for ever. They deliberately used the word "*pudgala*" instead of "ātman" to avoid any confusion with Anātmā of the three fundamental tenets of Buddha, viz., *Anātma, Anitya* and *Dukkha.* Their earliest critic was Moggaliputta Tissa, compiler of the *Kathāvatthu.* The next was Vasubandhu, author of the *Abhidharmakośa* with its commentator Yaśomitra. Śāntarakṣita has also strongly criticised the Pudgalavāda in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* followed by his commentator Kamalaśīla. The *Sammitīya-nikāya-śāstra,* however, has criticised the non-Buddhist conceptions along with certain misapprehensions of the unenlightened Buddhist monks and justified the viewpoint of the Pudgalavādins.

In this exposition it is proposed to give the view of the Pudgalavādins as presented by the above mentioned critics without their trenchant criticism.

In the *Kathāvatthu* and other texts, the position of the Sammitīyas is given thus :—

The *Pudgalavādins* rely on the following words of the great Teacher : (i) "there is the person who exerts for his own benefit" (*atthi puggalo attahitāya paṭipanno*); (ii) "there appears a person who is reborn for the good and happiness of many, for showing compassion to the world of beings" (*ekapuggalo loke uppajjamāno uppajjati bahujanahitāya bahu-ianasukhāya lokānukampāya* etc.). Basing on such words of Buddha, the Sammitīyas (henceforth abbreviated as S.) state that "puggala" (pudgala) of the above-mentioned passages is something positive, it is neither a mirage nor a hearsay, again, it is neither the unconstituted reality like Nibbāna nor a constituent like material elements (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*) etc. The "puggala" is not a reality existing everywhere, at all times, and in everything, in short, it is not real in the highest sense (*paramārtha*). On the one hand it is not something apart from the constituents of a being and as such it is not possible to establish any relation between "puggala" and the constituents (*khandhas*) like the container and the contained. On the other hand, though it possesses all the characteristics of the constituents, it is neither, like them, caused and conditioned (*sahetu, sappaccaya*) nor it is like *Nibbāna*, uncaused and unconditioned (*ahetu, appaccaya*). Again it is neither constituted (*saṁskṛta*) nor unconstituted (*asaṁskṛta*). Though it is not identical (*añño*) with the constituents, it possesses certain aspects of a constituted being such as happiness and unhappiness. It has also certain aspects of the unconstituted inasmuch as it is not subject to birth, old age and death. It ceases only when the being attains final emancipation (*Nirvāṇa*).

In the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentary, the relation of "pudgala" to the constituents is explained by the simile of fire and fuel. Fire exists as long as the fuel lasts, so the "puggala" exists so long as there are the constituents (*skandhas*) but fire is different from fuel inasmuch as it has the power of burning an object or producing light, which the fuel by itself does not possess. Fire and fuel are co-existent, and the latter is a support of the former and that one is not wholly different from the other because fuel is not wholly devoid of fiery element (*tejas*) in the same way "puggala" stands in relation to the constituents of a being. The S. quote the *Bhārahārasūtra* and explain that burden (*bhāra*) refer to the constituents (skandhas) while their carrier (*hāra*) is the "puggala." The unloading of the burden is effected by the cessation of desires, attachment and worldly pleasures. This "puggala" bears a name, belongs to a family and is the enjoyer of happiness and unhappiness[1].

In discussing the *Bhāraharasūtra*, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla state that Buddha used the word "pudgala" as a mere concept (prajñapti). He did not state expressly that

[1] *Saṁyutta*, III, p. 25 :
Katamo bhikkhave bhāro ?
Pañcupādānakkhandhā 'tissa vacanīyam.
Katame pañca ? Seyyathīdam rūpupādānāk-khandho; vedanupā ; saññupā ; saṅkhārupā ; viññāṇupā. Ayam vuccati, bhikkhave, bharo
Katamo ca bhikkhave bhārahāro ?
Puggalo ti'ssa vacanīyam. Yo'yam āyasmā evamnāmo evamgotto. Ayam vuccati bhikkhave bhārahāro.

it was non-existent as no body enquired of its real nature. He had in mind the aggregation of five constituents and to these collectively he referred to as "puggala". It is not subject to origin and decay hence it has no past, present or future. It is neither eternal (*nitya*) nor non-eternal (*anitya*). It is inexplicable and indeterminable. It is not included in the constituents but appears only when all the constituents are present.

In the *Kathāvatthu* it is stated the S. have pointed out that their "puggala" has a material form in the world of men and gods who have got material body (*rūpī*) and it is without any material form in the world of higher gods who are without material body (*arūpi*). They state that the "puggalo" corresponds to the entity called "being" (*sattva*) as also to the vital force (*jīva*) of a living being but at the same time it is neither identical with nor different from the body (*kāya*) as Buddha rejected both the views of identity and difference of vital force (*jīva*) and body (*śarīra*) (taṁ jīvaṁ tam śarīraṁ, aññaṁ jīvaṁ aññaṃ śarīraṁ). They rely on another statement frequently made by Buddha that a monk while practising mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*) remains always aware of what is passing within his body (*so kāye kāyānupassi viharati*).

In the statement Buddha employs the word "so" meaning "he" i.e., "puggala" who watches the movements

In the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Kamalaśila quotes the following :—
Bhārahāraḥ katamaḥ pudgalaḥ ?
Yo'savāyuṣmānnevaṁ nāmā
evamjātiḥ, evamgotra evamāhāra
evaṁ sukhaduḥkhaṁ pratisaṁvedī
evaṁ dīrghāyur ityādi.

and contents of his body. This "so" is not a mere concept (*prajñapti*); it refers to actual "puggala."

The S. now take up the problem of transmigration. They hold that the "puggala" passes from one existence to another but the "puggala" of two existences is neither the same nor different. The reason adduced by them is that a person who has attained the *sotāpatti* stage of sanctification continues to be a *sotāpanna* in his future existences whether in this mortal world or in the heavens. A *sotāpanna* man may be reborn as a *sotāpanna* god, i.e., *sotapannahood* remains unchanged though the constituents of his body have changed from those of a man to those of a god. The transmission of *sotāpannahood* from one existence to another cannot take place unless the existence and continuity of "puggala" are admitted.

In support of their above contention the S. rely on the following utterances of Buddha :

(i) There are four pairs of (saintly) persons or eight (saintly) persons (*santi cattāro purisayugā aṭṭha purisapuggalā*) [This statement refers to Buddha's saṅgha, which consists of disciples who have attained the preparatory stage (*magga*) and fruits (*phala*) of sanctification. There are four such pairs of *maggas* and *phalas*, i.e., eight in all.] The S. attach importance to the word "puggala."

(ii) A *sotāpanna* has to be reborn seven times at the most to put an end to his sufferings (i.e., attain full emancipation); this is expressed in Buddha's statement "*so sattakkhattuparamo sandhāvitvāna puggalo dukkhassantakaro hoti*" The S. lay stress on the words "*sandhāvitvāna puggalo,*" i.e., the transmigrating soul (puggala).

(iii) The cycle of existences (*saṁsāra*) of a being is without any beginning. The beginning is not apparent of beings entangled in desires (*anamataggo ayaṁ saṁsāro pubbā koṭī na paññāyati—sattānam taṇha-saññojanānaṁ*). The S. pick up the words "*saṁsāro*" and "*sattva*" and deduce there from that Buddha admitted the transmigration of beings.

(iv) Lastly Buddha very often spoke of the acquisition of higher powers or knowledge (*abhijñā*), one of which was the power of remembering one's previous existence (*pubbe nivāsañāṇa*). He himself referred to his previous existences and often said when "I was Sunetra, etc." This also establishes their contention that there must be a soul (*puggala*) continuing through several existences and able to remember the past births. Memory of past existences is not possible for the constituents (*skandhas*), which change every moment not to speak of the drastic change that they undergo when passing from death to rebirth. They add that the admission of memory (*smṛti*) also implies the existence of *puggala*.

The S. state that their "puggala" is the percepient but it is different from mind (*citta* or *vijñāna*), one of the constituents of a being. It is also not momentary (*kṣaṇika*) like mind but is perceivable in every momentary thought. It is the "seer" whether the eyes are functioning or not, because Buddha said "I see by means of my divine eyes being appearing and disappearing." Here "I" is the "puggala" of the S.

The S. then take up the problem of capacity for effective action (*arthakriyākāritva*) of soul. In conformity with

Buddha's teaching that the world is not a creation of the God (*Iśvaranirmāṇa*), they do not want to attribute to "puggala" any function of a doer or a creator of doer. They however point out that the "puggala" of a parent or a teacher is in a sense doer or creator (*kattā, kāretā*) of a being. "Puggala" has no independent function or mental properties. It is not an independent enjoyer of fruits. Puggala and fruits are not two distinct entities though "puggala" is said to be feeling happy or unhappy, because the conglomeration of diverse elements which make a being cannot have the feeling of happiness or unhappiness. There may be a doer (*kāraka*) or feeler (*vedaka*) but it is not to be distinguished from deed or feeling. The doer and the deed are neither identical nor different. The S. mention this position of theirs in refutation of the opponent's argument that a semi-permanent soul like the eternal soul cannot have any activity. It is only the impermanent momentary (anitya, kṣaṇika) soul that can have any activity (*arthakṛiyā-kāritva*).

Śantarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṁgraha* (336-349) writes that the "puggala" of the Vātsīputriyas is neither identical with nor different from the constituents (*skandhas*). In his comments Kamalaśīla states that the "pudgala" of the Vātsīputrīyas is the doer of deeds and enjoyer of their effects. In transmigration it leaves one group of constituents to take up another. It is not separate from the constituent, for in that case it would be eternal, again, it cannot be the same as the constituents as, in that case, it would be not one but many. It is therefore inexplicable. The exposition of Kamalaśīla is supported by

Prajñākaramati in his commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

In this connection Kamalaśīla has discussed also the criticism of Uddyotakara in his *Nyāyavārtika* (III. 1. 1.) that a soul must be postulated if it is not identified with one of the constituents. Candrakīrti, however, does not dismiss the *pudgalavāda* of the Sammitīyas[1] as wholly untenable. He even admits that Buddha as an expedient taught the pudgalavāda as he taught later the idealistic doctrines

The *Sammitiyanikāya-śāstra* (Venkataraman's translation) mentions and discusses all possible views regarding the conception of soul. It puts together the views thus (p. 21);

(i) There is no real self.
(ii) The self is indeterminable (*avyākṛta*).
(iii) Five constituents (*skandhas*) and the self are identical
(iv) Five constituents and the self are different.
(v) Self is eternal (*śāśvata*).
(vi) Self is not eternal (*aśāśvata*), impermanent.
(vii) Self is actually existent though not eternal.

Of these views the last is held by the Sammitīyas. In this text the non-Sammitīya views have been briefly stated without any comment or criticism while its own view has been fully dealt with thus :—

(i) The person (puggala) is the product (lit. construct) of the five constituents, and it is neither eternal nor impermanent.

[1] *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 276, see also pp. 148, 192.

(ii) Buddha's denial of self or *anatta* doctrine was enunciated to counteract the wrong views that self was based on mental impressions (*saṁskāras*) or self was identical with the body or the five constituents.

He admonished his disciples to remove the notion of "I-ness" and "Mine-ness" which was based on the notion of a false self, to which a worldly being bore a strong attachment but he did not refer to that self (*puggala*) which strictly speaking could not be the object for passionate seeking.

Then again, in Buddha's sayings the term "non-existence" was used in different context, e.g., he said that some were absolutely non-existent like sky-flower and horns of a hare, and again some were really non-existent but existent conditionally, e.g., long and short, seed and sprout, and so Buddha's denial of soul does not necessarily refer to the absolute non-existence of "*puggala*". It is sometimes referred to as inexplicable because of the fact that it can neither be identified with, nor differentiated from, the constituents, which only are apparent to the unenlightened. Again if self (*puggala*) be regarded as permanent or impermanent, constituted and unconstituted, it would be adhering to one of the two extreme views of existence and non-existence both of which were discarded by Buddha. Hence soul (*puggala*) as conditionally existent was admitted by Buddha.

The S. contend that if the self be wholly non-existent, there would neither be the killing of beings nor a killer neither the attainment of fruits of sanctification nor a saint consequently not a Buddha nor his teachings.

In this text the *Bhārahārasūtra* has also been mentioned and discussed and emphasis has been laid

on the word "puggala" used in it. On the basis of the *sūtra,* the S. contend that a distinction has been made by Buddha between burden (*bhāra*) and its carrier (*hāra*) or the person (*puggala*) carrying the burden. This *sūtra* clearly establishes that the carrier or puggala is not identical with the burden or the constituents (*skandhas*). Again the carrier and the burden are inseparable ; they are interdependent and hence "*puggala*" is not distinguished or separated from the *skandhas*.

It has been further pointed out that the acquisition or removal of impurities like attachment (*rāga*) or thirst (*tṛṣṇā*) is effected not by the self (*puggala*) alone to the exclusion of the constituents (*skandhas*). But at the same time it should be admitted that the self (*puggala*) and the constituents (*skandhas*) are neither identical nor different because Buddha denied both the identity and difference of the vital force (*jīva*) and body (*sarīra*).

The text now takes up for discussion the conception of soul (*puggala*) from three aspects :—

(i) Self is designated by its support (*āśrayaprajñaptapudgala,*) i.e., self is sometimes given an appellation or description on the basis of its *āśraya* or *ālambana* as fire is named and described by its fuel, e.g., forest-fire or coal-fire. In a living being the impressions (*saṁskāras*) are the fuel and the self (*pudgala*) is the fire, which derives its attributes and appellation in accordance with the impressions. A being is called a human being, a nāga, or a god in accordance with the type of body possessed by it. The self is the receiver of the material form (*rūpa*) but the "self" and "form" being interdependent and inseparable come and go together

and at the same time. It is not clear why Candrakirti states in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* (p. 192) that the Sammitīyas hold that the receiver of the constituents appears prior to the constituents to receive them.

(ii) Self in transmigration (*saṅkramaṇaprajñapta-pudgala*) i.e., when self passes from one existence to another. The person, whose mind (*citta or vijñāna*) carries with it the effects of his moral observances (*śīla*) and meditational practices (*samādhi*), is reborn in a higher sphere. On his death his five constituents (*skandhas*) after disintegration accompany the self to a sphere of excellence. His meritorious deeds and spiritual acquisitions are his treasures which follow him in his next existence and so his self does not go alone. If the self be different from the constituents it would have nothing to stand by in his future existences. Likewise if the self be real and eternal or unreal and evanescent, the self can take nothing with it when it passes from one existence to another.

The transmigration of self is expressed in many statements of Buddha, e.g., he said that "in this world one performs good deeds and as a result enjoys happiness in the next world", "one who controls his sense-organs reaches a happy state in the next life," "a dying person arises again" etc. Buddha himself often spoke of his past existences in which he perfected himself in many virtues (*pāramitās*). He foretold Ajita that in future he would become Maitreya Buddha. He has also occasionally referred to miserly persons possessing wealth that a miser possesses immeasurable wealth but when death approaches him he has to part with everything and go alone all by himself. It is

clear from such statements of Buddha that he had in mind a self (*pudgala*) which transmigrates from one existence to another accompanied by the resultant impressions (*saṁskāras*) of the past life, i.e., karmaic effects.

(iii) Self in extinction (*nirodha-prajñapta-pudgala*), i.e. when self ceases and has no more rebirth. This happens in the case of an Arhat, the perfect, who has removed all his impurities (*kṣīṇāsrava*) and has attained Nirvāṇa and therefore will have no more rebirth (*natthi' dāni punabbhavo*).

In the same text has been discussed another statement of Buddha in which he said that the cycle of existences has no beginning (*anamataggo 'yaṁ saṁsāro*) and deduced therefrom that it must have a beginning which was unknowable to the unenlightened and so also Buddha's declaration of the non-existence of *ātman* implied that self (*pudgala*) was unknowable to the imperfect. It has been argued by the exponent that the reality or unreality of an object should not be questioned because of the fact that it is unknowable by men of average intellect. It indicates only lack of knowledge on the part of the imperfect and not existence or non-existence of the real object or even an unreal object. It is true that *Arūpa* sphere is unknowable by beings of the *Rūpa* sphere, and so it is not proper to infer from that unknowability that *Arūpaloka* does not exist. Similarly, soul (*pudgala*) is unknowable by the unwise but that does not establish that pudgala is non-existent. Then again a minute speck of dust, tip of a hair, mine within the earth, shores of ocean, a handful of salt dissolved in water, a jewel hidden behind a wall, bodies of spirits or ghosts, even the eye-lids which are so close to the eyes are not seen

by the common physical eyes but that does not prove their non-existence. They are seen by those who possess divine eyes (*divyacakṣu*). Likewise the beginning of the cycle of existences is unknowable by the unwise but is knowable by the fully enlightened Buddha. Buddha said that the world has no beginning, "mainly with a view to see that his disciples did not take to the beliefs of eternalism and negativism and to see that they might not harbour any notion like "I was, I am and I shall be". If the beginning of the world had been non-existent like the sky flower or horns of a hare, Buddha would not have cared to state that the world had no beginning as one does not say that there is no sky-flower or horns of a hare. A spherical object has no beginning but no one says it does not exist so also with the world of existences (*saṁsāra*). Lastly if the cycle of existence has no beginning or end, it would be identical with *Nirvāṇa* which is also without beginning or end. From all these arguments the author of the *Sammitīya-nikāya śāstra* establishes that Buddha did not fully explain many of his deeper ideas, and the existence of self (*pudgala*) is one of them and so Buddha's reticence should not be taken as the denial of the existence of a self (*pudgala*) as conceived by the Sammitīyas.

CHAPTER XIV

CHINESE PILGRIMS ON BUDDHISM IN UTTAR PRADESH

FOR the history of Buddhism in India from 400 to 700 A.D. there are no better records than those left by the three distinguished Chinese pilgrims: Fa-hian, Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing who visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. Fa-hian travelled in India and Ceylon from 399 to 414 A.D., while Hiuen-tsang left China in 629 A.D. and returned home in 645 A.D. after traversing almost the whole of India, and collecting the most valuable and detailed information about the state of Buddhism in various places in India. Hiuen-tsang, it seems, consulted Fa-hian's records, as in many cases he has almost reproduced the accounts of Fa-hian. I-tsing remained in India from 671 to 695 A.D., but he confined his attention mainly to the disciplinary rules observed by the Buddhist monks with a few general remarks about the geographical distribution of that Buddhist sects. The pilgrims, being religious men of the mediaeval period, attached a good deal of importance to the legends and beliefs that were current among the Buddhists of those days and did not dismiss them as fictitious and untrustworthy. Their estimates of the distance of one place from another are not always correct but whatever has been recorded by them gives us some idea of the probable location of the place visited by them.

Fa-hian was not as critical a connossieur as was Hiuen-tsang but nevertheless, he has left an account though general but very interesting, of the state of Buddhism in India in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Regarding the places in Uttar Pradesh visited by him, Fa-hian writes as follows : From Bhida (Punjab) he travelled south-east along the river Yamuna and reached Mathura. He first gives his general impression about the people of this part of India, called Middle kingdom. The climate is temperate, people are happy and numerous and are not required to pay any tax to the king except by the producers of food-grains. The king's officers are well paid. Criminal punishments are not severe. People do not kill living beings or drink any liquor nor eat onions or garlic. The Caṇḍālas only sell fish and meat.

After Buddha's parinirvāṇa, the kings and bankers (seṭṭhis) built monasteries for the monks and endowed them with land grants engraved on "plates of metal." The monks recite *sūtras*, sit in meditation and perform pious acts. They show due courtesies to incoming monks and make their stay in the monastery comfortable, all according to the rules of the Vinaya.

The kings show due respect to the monks. They put away their crowns and sit on a carpet spread for them on the ground and not on couches when they pay visit to the monks. They offer food to the monks with their own hands.

The people erect *stūpas* in memory of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Ānanda also in honour of the reciters of Abhidharma, Vinaya and Sūtra. After the rainy season retreat, the householders persuade one another to make

gifts and offer food to the monks. The seṭṭhis and Brāhmaṇas give cloths and other articles. The monks in their turn preach the *dharma* and worship the *stūpas*. The nuns worship the *stūpa* of Ānanda. The novices worship the *stūpa* of Rāhula. The students of Abhidharma and Vinaya make their offerings to Abhidharma and Vinaya teachers while Mahāyāna students worship the Prajñāpāramitā, Manjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara.

The Vinaya rules and ceremonies are practised in the same way from one generation to another from the time of Buddha. There were twenty monasteries on both banks of the Yamuna with about 3000 monks and the religion was flourishing at the time.

About two centuries after Fa-hian came Hiuen-tsang to Mathura. He found the climate warm and the country economically rich. The people, he said, believed in *karmaic* effects and were morally and intellectually well developed. He corroborated Fa-hian about the number of monasteries but the number of monks according to his estimate was 2000. He noticed also a number of Deva-temples and non-Buddhist religious men. He saw three *stūpas* erected by Aśoka as also *stūpas* built on the relics of Śarīputra, Mudgalaputra, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula. On the auspicious days as also during the rainy season retreat the monks formed into groups and vied with one another in offering worship to the saints adored by each group. The Ābhidharmikas worshippped Śārīputra, the Samadhists Mudgalaputra, the Vinayists Upāli, the bhikṣuṇīs Ānanda, the Śrāmaṇeras Rāhula and the

Mahāyānists various Bodhisattvas. There is a substantial agreement between the statements of the two Chinese pilgrims and the preference of monks for worshipping a particular saint reflects one of the causes that led to the growth of sects in Buddhism. It will be observed that Śāriputra was the traditional expounder of the Abhidharmapiṭaka and so it is just and proper that the Ābhidhammikas should worship Śāriputra. Likewise Maudgalyāyana acquired extraordinary miraculous powers through meditational exercises, so he was the favoured saint of the Samādhists. Upāli, the repository of the Vinaya Piṭaka, was justly worshipped by the Vinayists while Ānanda, to whose efforts was due the formation of the order of nuns, deserved worship of the bhikṣuṇīs. Rāhula was an ideal novice (*śramaṇa*) and was therefore the saint of the novices while the Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī were worshipped by the Mahāyānists.

From this testimony of the Chinese pilgrims it can be concluded that Mathura became a popular resort of the monks of all sects including the Mahāyānists from the 5th to 7th century A.D. and it is for this reason that Hiuen-tsang states that the 2000 monks were diligent students of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. He also speaks of the Naṭa-bhaṭa monastery where resided Upagupta as also of thecave in which sticks were deposited by his disciples. (see above, p. 260).

Fa-hian went to Sāṅkāśya directly from Mathura, while Hiuen-tsang took a long round about route from Mathura northwards to Sthāneswar, Srughna, Matipur, Govisana,

Ahicchatra, Pi-lo-shan-na and then reached Sāṅkāśya, which was a few miles away from Mathura.

At Sthāneswara in Ambala district outside Uttar Pradesh, Hiuen-tsang found the people of the locality well off and interested in Brāhmanic rituals. There were a few Hīnayāna Buddhists in three monasteries. The principles of the *Gītā* were highly prized there.

Proceeding north-east from Sthāneswar, the pilgrim reached Srughna on the west of the Ganges and with high mountains on the north. In religious and economic condition the people were similar to those of Sthāneswar. There were however five monasteries with 1000 Hīnayāna monks, some of whom were very learned expositors of the doctrine and were approached by monks of other places for getting their doubts solved. He refers to the tradition of Buddha's visit to the place and of curbing the pride of a Brāhmaṇa related in detail in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 74). After Buddha's demise this country became Brahmanic and it was after some time that a few proficient Buddhist teachers were able to re-establish Buddhism there.

From Srughna, the pilgrim travelled east and reached the place said to be the source of the Ganges (Gangā-dvāra). The people of this place, which was very probably Hardwar, believed that a dip in the Ganges assured one's rebirth in the heavenly spheres. The great saint and teacher Āryadeva went there once and convinced some of the people that it was not possible to save the sinner with the Ganges water. Hiuen-tsang resided there for

some time to study the *śāstras* with a Sautrāntika teacher Jayagupta.

He crossed to the east bank of the Ganges and reached a place called Matipur identified by Cunningham with Mandawar in W. Rohilkhand. Here he saw the monastery where the great Vaibhāṣika teacher Guṇaprabha resided. Not far from this site was the monastery where lived another profound Vaibhāṣika scholar, Saṁghabhadra of Kashmir, who must have come to the place to hold a discussion with Vasubandhu. He saw here two *stūpas*, one erected on Saṁgha bhadra's relics and another on the relics of his disciple, Vimalamitra also of Kashmir, who was a distinguished exponent of the Vaibhāṣika doctrines and a bitter critic of Vasubandhu's leanings towards the Sautrāntika doctrines. He resided remained here several months to study Guṇaprabha's treatise called *Tattvasandeśa-śāstra* and other Abhidharma commentaries. He met a disciple of Guṇaprabha called Mitrasena, who though very old was a profound scholar.

He went north from Matipur and reached Govisana, identified by Cunningham with Kashipur, Rampur and Pilibhit. The people of this place were sincere and religious and had Brāhmanic faith. There were only two monasteries with 100 monks.

From Govisana he went to Ahicchatra (eastern part of Rohilkhand). The people of this place were also honest and keen in studying Brahmanic system and philosophy. Some of the people belonged to the Pāśupata sect and worshipped Śiva. Here lived many Buddhist monks of the Sammitīya sect in ten monasteries.

From Ahicchatra he went south and reached Pi-lo-shan-na. The people of this place followed the Brahmanic religion. There were two monasteries with 800 monks of the Mahāyāna school.

From Pi-lo-shan-na, he proceeded south east and reached Kapitha or Samkāśya (translated into Chinese as Kuang-ming = brightness, clearness). He records in extenso the tradition about Buddha's descent from the Trāyastriṁśa heaven adding that Aśoka built a monastery near the steps and erected a stone pillar crowned by a lion with an image of Buddha on its four sides. Here resided 1000 monks and nuns, pursuing their studies in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

He also reproduces the tradition relating to Buddha's descent from the Trāyastriṁśa heaven, and says that the old stairs were destroyed and replaced by new ones. The stairs were 70′ high leading to a monastery in which was installed a stone image of Buddha, with images of Brahmā and Indra on two sides in a descending posture. He saw the Aśokan pillar there. Hiuen-tsang adds that the people of the place were mostly Śaivite. There were four monasteries with 1000 monks of the Sammitīya school. Of these monasteries one was large and of fine proportions and excellent workmanship. It was occupied by the Sammitīya monks.

From Saṅkāśya he travelled south east for seven *yojanas* and reached Kānyakubja or Kanauj, a city lying on the bank of the Ganges. He noticed there only two monasteries with some Hīnayāna monks. It seems that in Fa-hian's time Kanauj did not attain the importance

which it did later when king Harṣavardhana made it his capital.

Hiuen-tsang gives a long account of Kanauj, mentioning the tradition about the hunchback princess for which the city was called Kānyakubja. He related in detail the circumstances in which Harṣavardhana came to occupy the throne, his martial strength and conquest of a large territory and his victory over Śaśāṅka believed to be an arch enemy of Buddhism. Harṣavardhana's father followed the Brāhmanic religion and was a Sun-worshipper. Though Harṣavardhana patronised Buddhism he continued his support to the Brāhmaṇas. He fed every day 1000 monks and 500 Brāhmanas. His sister Rājyaśrī became a nun of the Sammitīya sect. (Watters, I, p. 346). His subjects lived peacefully for thirtyye ars on account of his good government. He built monasteries and regularly held the quinquenuial assemblies of Buddhist monks, and rewarded the learned monks and specially those proficient in disputations. He forced the king of Assam, Bhāskaravarman, at whose invitation Hiuen-tsang went to his capital to come to him along with the Chinese pilgrim. He however apologised to the pilgrim and made enquiries about his mission and of the great reputatation of his king and country.

On account of Harṣavardhana's patronage to Buddhism the number of monks increased appreciably, for Hiuen-tsang found at Kanauj 100 monasteries with 10,000 monks of both Yānas. There were also 200 Deva temples with several thousands of devotees.

Hiuen-tsang resided at Kanauj for three months in the Bhadravihāra and studied with venerable Vīryasena the

Vibhāṣās written by Buddhadāsa, a contemporary of Vasubandhu and a disciple of Asaṅga.[1]

From Kanauj, Fa-hian went south-east for three yojanas and came to Sha-che (= Sāketa). He related the tradition about the magical growth of at ree from a tooth-stick of Buddha.

Hiuen-tsang took a different route. He left Kanauj and passed on to Navadevakula (= present Nohabatganj) and after a long journey from this place south-eastwards he crossed the Ganges and reached Ayodhyā. From Ayodhyā he passed through Hayamukha, Prayāg, Kauśāmbī and Kāsapura and than reached Sāketa.

Ayodhyā, Hiuen-tsang writes, was rich in crops, fruits and flowers and the people were fond of good works and practical learning. He refers to the tradition about the visit of Buddha to this place, as also to an Aśokan *stūpa* erected there to commemorate his visit. He speaks of Vasubandhu as the renowned saint and scholar, who lived here for several years, composing his philosophical treatises on Sarvāstivāda teachings and of his teachership of princes and distinguished monks and Brāhmaṇas. He evidently refers to the appointment of Vasubandhu as a tutor of the crown prince, Bālāditya.

As Hiuen-tsang depended on hearsay regarding Vasubandhu and Asaṅga, who lived about two centuries before his visit to India, he mixed up the two Vasubandhus as pointed out by Frauwallner.

1 Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, chap. XXIII.

He records that Asaṅga and Vasubandhu hailed from Peshawar. Both of them were very learned. At first Asaṅga joined the Mahīśāsaka sect and Vasubandhu the Sarvāstivāda, which was a branch of the Mahīśāsakas. Asaṅga resided at Ayodhyā for some time. He became a great exponent of the Yogācāra philosophy and was inspired by Maitreya to compose the famous treatises entitled *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* (now being published), *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and *Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra* (both published). Asaṅga convinced his brother Vasubandhu of the excellence of Yogācāra philosophy of idealism (*vijñānavāda*) and converted him to his own philosophical views. Vasubandhu became a staunch Mahāyānist after studying the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (published).

The only point to be observed is whether Asaṅga and the Mahāyānist Vasubandhu resided at Ayodhyā as stated by Hiuen-tsang, who probably relied on the traditions about Hīnayānist Vasubandhu, and added the information that he was a brother of Asaṅga. Hiuen-tsang states that the famous Sautrāntika teacher Śrīlabha, who was a contemporary of Hīnayānist Vasubandhu, and whose views are often referred to by Yaśomitra in his *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, resided also at Ayodhyā for some time, and composed the *Sautrāntika-vibhāṣā-śāstra*.

At Ayodhyā, however, Hiuen-tsang found 100 monasteries with 3000 monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyana schools. Perhaps by his time, Ayodhyā became an important rendezvous of distinguished Buddhist teachers of both the schools of thought.

From Ayodhyā the Chinese pilgrim sang passed on to Hayamukha, where he found the people similar in habits, manners and economic conditions to those of Ayodhyā. Here he saw five monasteries with 1000 monks of the Sammitīya sect. In one monastery lived the renowned commentator Buddhadāsa of the Sarvāstivāda sect.

From Hayamukha he proceeded to Prayāg (Allahabad), and found the climate congenial. It was a Brāhmanic country with people practising austerities to put an end to their lives as they believed that death at that holy place would ensure their rebirth in heavens. Harṣavardhana used to come here to make his quinquennial awards to deserving learned men and saints of all sects and creeds, and his unlimited liberality almost exhausted his resources. There were a few Hīnayāna Buddhist monks in two monasteries. Āryadeva, the famous disciple of Nāgārjuna, the exponent of Mādhyamika philosophy, resided here and composed the treatise *Śataśāstra-vaipulya* (Kuang-pai-lun).

He proceeded from Prayāg to Kauśāmbī. The excavations at Kosam have proved beyond doubt that it was the site of ancient Kauśāmbī, 31 miles from Allahabad. He writes that the people of the place were religious, "enterprising and fond of arts." It was the capital of king Udayana of the Vatsa kingdom. He saw the ruins of Ghositārāma built by seṭṭhi Ghoṣita. Vasubandhu (Mahāyānist) is said to have resided there for some time and wrote the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, in which he refuted the existence of "mind and matter" and established "the

unreality of phenomena and consequently of sense-perceptions apart from the thinking principle, the existence of eternal mind unmoved by change and unsoiled by error." He gives the substance of the text correctly i.e., the eternality of "*vijñaptimātratā*." Asaṅga also composed here a treatise. The pilgrim refers to a forecast made in the *Mahāmāyāsūtra* that Buddhism would come to an end here 1500 years after Buddha's demise. He writes that the people of the place followed the Brāhmaṇic religion, and there were only ten monasteries with 300 Hīnayāna monks. An early inscription discovered here shows that the monks of the Kassapīya sect resided there.[1]

From Kauśāmbī, Hiuen-tsang moved to Kāsapura near which he saw the ruins of a monastery. At this monastery lived Dharmapāla, who defeated the non-Buddhist teachers in disputation. Dharmapāla was a native of south India. He took ordination to escape from marrying the princess of his country. He became a very renowned teacher of Nālandā and made Śīlabhadra his disciple. He was a contemporary of Guṇamati and Sthiramati, the Vaibhāṣika teachers, and of Bhāvaviveka the great Mādhyamika teacher.

From Kāsapura he went to Viśoka identified with Sha-che of Fa-hian or Sāketa, which perhaps was fondly so called because of the home of Viśākhā, which in Chinese rendering has become Viśoka. The country was rich in crops and the people were studious and performed good deeds. There was a monastery, in which Deva-

[1] Ghosh, *Early History of Kausambī*, p. 59.

śarman lived and wrote his treatise '
a text of the Abhidharmapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins-
There was another monk called Gopa, who refuted
Devaśarman's views about the non-existence of ego
and non-ego. Gopa, it seems, belonged to the
Sammitīya school, which admitted the existence of a temporary self called "pudgala." Some time later Dharmapāla Boddhisattva, mentioned above, lived here and defeated several Hīnayāna teachers in controversies lasting seven days.

Hiuen-tsang then refers to the magical tree, which shot up from Buddha's tooth-stick, as stated above by Fa hian.

At Sāketa there were many followers of the Brāhmanic religion. There were only 20 monasteries with 3000 monks of the Sammitīya school.

Fa-hian went from Sāketa to Śrāvastī, identified with Set Mahct, which was then very sparsely populated. He gives the following account of the place :—

Outside the city about 1200 paces beyond was the Jetavana monastery. It was a seven storied structure resorted to for worship by kings, nobles and the people of the country. It was accidentally destroyed by fire. He noticed the two stone pillars one crowned by the Dharmacakra and the other by a bull. At a little distance from the monastery was Andhavana, where the monks meditated and obtained their eyes of knowledge. This is described by Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsang as the "wood of obtained eyes" along with a fictitious story of some brigands regaining their eyes through Buddha's influence.

Fa-hian noticed the site of the monastery called Migaramātupāsāda built by Visākhā, as also the place where Buddha met Virūḍhaka, son of king Prasenajit.

He refers to the heretics and their machinations to discredit Buddha through Sundarī and Ciñcā, as also to their hermitage built near Jetavana and lastly to Devadatta, whose followers he found existing at his time.

At Jetavana Fa-hian was in a reminiscient mood, thinking of the Buddha, his sojourn at Śrāvastī for 25 years, and then he remembered his companions who died on the way or returned back to their homeland. He was courteously received by the resident monks, who were surprised to meet a foreigner devoted to Buddha and his religion.

Hiuen-tsang followed Fa-hian's route and reached the famous city of Śrāvastī from Sāketa. He found the country to be rich in crops and its people leading a righteous life. He noticed the ruins: (i) of a monastery built by king Prasenajit, (ii) of a nunnery dedicated to Mahāprajāpati Gautamī, (iii) of the Jetavana monastery. He found at the east gate of Jetavana two Aśokan pillars, one of which was crowned by the *Dharmacakra* and the other by a bull as mentioned also by Fa-hian. He came across *stūpas* erected in memory of Anāthapiṇḍika, Aṅgulimāla as also of Śārīputra and Buddha.

It is said that the original Jetavana monastery as also the second one built there were destroyed by fire. In Chinese texts, its area is estimated to be 130 acres and the monastery had separate halls for dining,preaching and meditation, as also bath-rooms, hospitals libraries and tanks all

encompassed by a wall. The libraries contained Buddhist, Vedic, non-Buddhist books as also treatises on Indian art and sciences. The monastery was situated outside the din and bustle of the city but not very far from it. It was a quiet and charming place, cool and an excellent resort for devotional people.

He refers to the story of the trial of strength between Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana detailed in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (Bhaiṣajyavastu, p. 165) as also to the story of Ciñcā Māṇavikā engaged by the heretics to throw dirt on Buddha's character and to Devadatta's ambition to become the spiritual head of the Saṅgha. Though he give more details about the ruins of Śrāvastī, he reproduces substantially what was seen by Fa-hian.

In Hiuen-tsang's time the place was deserted by the Buddhists, the monasteries were in ruins and there were a few monks of the Sammītiya sect. The place at his time abounded with Brāhmaṇic temples and people with Brāhmaṇic faith.

After leaving Śrāvastī Fa-hian saw the *stūpas* erected in memory of the three Buddhas Kāśyapa, Krakucchanda and Kanakamuni who preceded Gautama Buddha. Aśoka erected here the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni.

He then proceeded to Kapilavastu, which he found desolate and in ruins. He noticed the place associated with the main events of prince Siddhārtha's life, from his birth to the conversion of the Sākyans including Upāli. There is a reference to the gift of a robe (*Saṁghāṭī*) made by Mahaprajāpati and to the massacre of Sākyans by Virūḍhabha.

The country was in wilderness with a few monks and families living there.

Not far from the Lumbini garden of Kapilavastu was Rāmagrāma where a *stūpa* was erected over Bhagavān Buddha's relics. Aśoka could not collect the relics from this *stūpa*. Wild vegetation grew around the *stūpa* and there were only animals to take care of it. A Śrāmaṇera at last found out the *stūpa*, cleaned the bushes all around and made it fit for worship. He persuaded the local chief to build a monastery for him. He saw there a few monks.

Hiuen-tsang also found Kapilavastu to be a complete waste with the brick foundations of the Palace compound. He followed Fa-hian in describing the sites associated with the events of Buddha's life. He also noticed the *stūpas* of Krakucchanda and Kanakamuni. At the latter site he saw a stone pillar crowned by a lion with a record on its side. Regarding the contents of the record he depended on hearsay. Evidently, he saw the Aśokan pillar (see p. 330) on which was inscribed "*Devānaṁpiyena piyadasinā lājinā codasavasābhisitena Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyaṁ vaḍhite visativasābhisitena ca atana āgāca mahīyite silāthabhe ca usapāpite.*"

(By king Priyadarsin the beloved of the gods when he had been consecrated fourteen years, this *stūpa* of Buddha Kanakamuni was enlarged for the second time. Again when the king was consecrated 20 years, he himself paid reverence to it and had a stone pillar put up there). Hiuen-tsang's account goes into more details of Buddha's bio-

graphy, otherwise, he adds very little to the account left by Fa-hian.

Hiuen-tsang found here remains of several monasteries and only one monastery inhabited by 30 monks of the Sammitīya school.

From Kapilavastu he paid a visit to Rāmagrāma and reproduced all the traditions recorded by Fa-hian with a few additional remarks about the sites associated with the events of Prince Siddhārtha's renunciation.

From Rāmagrāma Fa-hian passed on to Kuśīnagara, the place hallowed by Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa. The city had few inhabitants and the number of monks was very small. He relates the facts and traditions associated with Buddha's final departure from the world, e.g., Subhadra's conversion, worship of his body in the coffin by gods, and the divisions of his relics among the eight chiefs.

Hiuen-tsang furnishes us with more detailed and fresh information. He writes that the path leading to Kuśīnagara was infested with robbers and wild animals. He noticed the old brick foundations of the city, an Aśokan *stūpa* marking the house of Cunda, who offered to Buddha the last meal of *sūkara-maddava,* which the Chinese texts explain as a kind of edible fungus or mush rooms often re-ferred to as a "monks' meat."

He saw the Śāla grove on the other side of the Ajirāvatī (Hiraṇyavatī) river and a temple containing an image of Buddha lying with his head to the north. The image referred to was discovered by Carlleyle in 1870-75. It is "a colossal image of a dying Buddha enshrined in a brick

temple and facing north. The temple is surrounded by a number of sanctuaries". There was one great *stūpa*. Near it was a stupa 200′ high with an Aśokan pillar containing an inscription. Of the other *stūpas* commemorating an event he mentions (i) the *stūpa* of Subhadra the last person to be ordained by Buddha just before his *parinirvāṇa* (ii) the *stūpa* at the site where Vajrapāṇi fell in a swoon, (iii) the *stūpa* at the site where Mahāmāyā weeped after coming down from heaven, (iv) *stūpa* at the cremation ground, (v) *stūpa* at the place where the relics were apportioned to eight claimants.

After leaving Kuśinagara Fa-hian passed through Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra, Rājagṛha, Gayā and then reached Vārāṇasī. He opens his account of Ṛṣipattana with the tradition of Pratyekabuddhas' self-immolation on Buddha's appearance. He then relates the circumstances in which the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics left his company and how they became the first converts of the Teacher. He refers to the prophecy made by Buddha about the future appearance of Maitreya as the Buddha. He noticed there only two monasteries with a few monks.

Hiuen-tsang came to Vārāṇasī direct from Kuśinagara through the forest. He found the people of the place to be very rich and their houses full of valuables. They were religious minded and of esteemed learning There grew ample crops, fruits and other vegetation. On the north east of the capital and on the west side of the Varuṇā river he saw an Aśoka tope along with a lustrous pillar of polished green stone.

At a short distance from Vārāṇasī was the Deer Park monastery in eight divisions all encompassed by a wall.

Within the enclosure there was a large temple with a metallic image of preaching Buddha. To the south west of the temple was an Aśokan stupa with a pillar.

Outside the monastery wall there were three tanks, two on the west and the third to the south of the second tank. Three tanks have been traced in archaeological excavations.

He then points out the *stūpas* which commemorated an important event. These were mostly connected with the Jātaka stories of Buddha's anterior existences, two related to the prophecies, one made by Kāśyapa Buddha regarding Śākyamuni's advent and the other by Gautama Buddha regarding the future appearance of Maitreya. The latter *stūpa* is identified by Mr. Oertel with the present Dhamek stupa. There were two other *stūpas* one marking the spot where the Pratyekabuddhas immolated themselves and other at the place where the five Brāhmaṇas practised meditation.

As far as religious beliefs are concerned, he writes that at Vārāṇasī there were hundreds of Deva temples with numerous devotees, the majority of whom were worshippers of Śiva. The devotees of Śiva had shaven heads or kept a top knot of hair, some were almost naked and some smeared themselves with ashes. Many of them were practising austerities in quest of emancipation.

There were at Vārāṇasī 30 monasteries with 3000 monks of the Sammitīya sect. In the monastery of Sarnath there were 1500 monks.

It must be some time after Hiuen-tsang's visit that Mahāyānism became popular at Sarnath, where have been discovered a number of Mahāyānic images.

CHAPTER XV

CHIEF BUDDHIST CENTRES AND MONUMENTS IN U. P.

The north-eastern portion of the present Uttar Pradesh can rightly claim to be the region where the early development of Buddhism took place. The history of ancient Kosala and its neighbouring kingdoms is, therefore, of supreme importance. The Vedic religion held its sway here for a pretty long time before the rise of Buddhism. King Prasenajit (Pasenadi) of Kosala was himself a supporter of the Vedic religion. The Brāhmaṇas had established their strongholds at several places in northern India.

After the attainment of *Sambodhi* at Bodhgaya, Buddha selected a few places for his activities. These places, in course of time, became great Buddhist centres for the development of religion, philosophy and fine arts. A number of monuments were erected at these centres after the time of Buddha. The main Buddhist centres in Uttar Pradesh and their monuments and remains are described here.

1. LUMBINĪ

Although Lumbinī is outside the present boundaries of Uttar Pradesh, it was included in the ancient Kosala kingdom. The small territory of the Śākyas of Kapila-

vastu,[1] in which Buddha was born, formed part of the great kingdom of Kosala. Lumbinī, also called *Rummin Deyī* and *Rūpadeyī*, is now situated in the Nepal Terai.[2] In the pillar-inscription of Aśoka it is called *Lummini*. The Chinese forms of the word are '*Lun-Min*,' '*Lun-Ming*', '*La-fa-ni*' etc.

In the Buddhist works Lumbinī has been referred to as a *vana* (forest), *pramodavana* (pleasure-garden) or *rājodyāna* (royal garden). According to the tradition preserved in the Tibetan literature, King Suprabuddha of Devadaha made this pleasure-garden for his queen Lumbinī, and therefore it was called 'Lumbinī' garden. But according to other traditions Lumbinī was the queen of Suprabuddha's chief minister. The garden lay between Kapilavastu and Devadaha and people of both the towns used to come here for pleasure-trips.

The importance of Lumbinī is mainly due to its being the birth-place of Gautama Buddha. When the period of delivery drew nigh, Māyā Devī, the queen of Śuddhodana expressed a desire to go to Devadaha. When she reached Lumbinī she thought of passing a few moments in the beautiful garden. A branch of a *Plaksha* tree was held by her. At that very time the child 'Siddhārtha' was born.

[1] This place has been identified with Tilaurā Koṭ, 12 miles north-west from Nautanawa station of the North-Eastern Railway.

[2] There are two convenient ways to reach Lumbinī—the one from the Nautanawa railway station and the other from the Naugarh station on the same railway. Recently good pacca roads have joined Lumbinī to these two places.

The Lumbinī garden shortly rose to great prominence. After attainment of the Supreme Knowledge, Buddha once visited Lumbinī on his way to Devadaha. He stayed there for some time and preached the '*Devadaha Sutta*.'

The Maurya emperor Aśoka paid a visit to this place with his preceptor, Upagupta. The latter pointed out to Aśoka the spot where Buddha was born[1] and the emperor was greatly moved. He made religious gifts here and ordered for the construction of a *Caitya*. An inscribed stone pillar was also erected on the birth-place to commemorate the event.

In the fifth century A. D., the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian visited Lumbinī, but he has made no mention of the monuments erected by Aśoka. He has, however, referred to the sacred lake in which, according to the then current belief, Māyā Devī took her bath before the birth of the child. He has also written about the well, the water of which was used by the Nāga kings for bathing the child.

Hiuen-tsang came to Lumbinī in the seventh century A.D. He has given a more detailed account of this place. Besides the lake, he has referred to the Aśokan pillar and to the commemorative *stūpas*, which were built at the following places—(1) the site where the Nāgarāja appeared; (2) the place where the two streams of hot and cold water appeared; (3) Buddha's bathing place and (4) the spot where, after birth, the child was taken up by Indra and other gods.

Another Chinese pilgrim, Wu-Kung, paid a visit to Lumbinī in 764 A.D. After this time we no longer hear

[1] '*Asmin Mahārāja pradeśe Bhagavān jātaḥ.*'

about Lumbinī. During the medieval period the birthplace of Buddha turned into a dense forest.

It was Dr. Führer, who for the first time in 1896 traced out the Aśokan pillar at Lumbinī. The place was identified with the spot where Buddha was born. The Government of Nepal took necessary steps for cleaning the dense jungle. Minor digging was also done. Recently more excavations have been conducted here. With the clearing off of the jungle and construction of good roads, Lumbinī has now become a centre of pilgrimage attracting a larger number of people than before. Necessary lodging arrangements for the visitors have also been made.

Chief among the present monuments and remains at Lumbinī is the Aśokan pillar. It was badly damaged before the 7th century A.D. due to the effect of lightning. The circumference of the remaining portion of the shaft is 7¼ feet and the height 13½ feet. About 10 feet long portion of the pillar is under the ground. Hiuen-tsang saw the figure of a horse on the capital of this pillar. It is no longer to be seen now. The pillar bears an inscription of Aśoka, very well preserved. The lines are straight and letters very tastefully written. It appears as if the inscription has been very recently incised. This inscription refers to Aśoka's visit to the holy place in the twentieth year after his consecration, when the emperor caused to be erected here the stone pillar and probably one statue. The residents of Lumbinī were freed from the taxes.

Near the above inscribed pillar of Aśoka there is a small temple, in which an ancient sculpture is preserved. The birth-scene of Buddha is carved on this stone : Mother

Māyā Devī is standing under a tree, facing to right. With one hand she holds a branch of the tree and with the other she is setting aright her clothes. Beside her is the newly born child. Other people are also shown nearby, including Prajāpati Gautamī and Indra.

This temple has probably been built after the pattern of an ancient temple on the birth-place. The excavations have yielded part of a big monastery or *Caitya*. Close by is a dried up lake. According to the tradition Buddha after his birth was given a bath with the water of this lake. The Nepal Government has constructed two new *stūpas* with the old material obtained here.

2 SĀRNĀTH

Among the Buddhist centres in India Sarnath occupies a very prominent place. It was here that the Buddha, after Enlightenment, gave his First Sermons. From this centre the 'Wheel of Law (*Dhamma Cakka*) rotated in all directions. It was here again that the *Saṅgha* was established for the first time. From Buddha's time to about the 12th century A.D. Buddhist religion, philosophy, art and literature—all had their uninterrupted growth here.

It was not so difficult for scholars to identify Sarnath with the present site near Banaras, as was the case with several other ancient sites. The Chinese pilgrims located Sarnath at a distance of 10 *li* (about 2 miles) from Banaras. But the exact distance between the two places now is about 5 miles. The traces of the old road, which joined Kāśī to '*Mrigadāva*' (the ancient name of Sarnath) are still visible.

The name 'Sarnath' is not very old. According to General Cunningham it was formerly the name of a local Śiva temple. He derives this name from '*Sāraṅga nātha*,' which can be associated both with Śiva and Buddha. In the Buddhist works its ancient name *Isipatana* (*Ṛshipattana*)[1] is generally found. Its another name was *Migadāva* or *Migadāya* (Sans. *Mṛgadāva* or Mṛgadāya). This second name is based on the story of the *Nigrodha Mṛga Jātaka*. According to this Jātaka story, Buddha and his followers, in one of their previous lives, were born here as antelopes. The king of Banaras, having become pleased with Bodhisattva, the leader of the antelopes, granted him protection, declaring this whole region reserved for the antelopes. It was, therefore, named *Mṛgadāva* or *Mṛgadāya*.[2] In the inscriptions from Sarnath this place is also called *Dharmacakra* (or *Saddharmacakra*)-*Pravartana Vihāra*. Formerly this was the name of a *Vihāra* here, which name in course of time became indicative of the whole site of Sarnath.

[1] The word *Ṛshipattana* means 'the abode of Ṛshis.' But in some Buddhist works it is interpreted as 'falling of Ṛshi.' According to these works one *pratyekabuddha* attained *nirvāṇa* here. In the *Divyāvadāna* it is called '*Ṛshivadana*' which reading is found in the Chinese works also.

[2] In the Jaina work '*Vividhi tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri Sarnath has been called *Dharmekṣā*. It was at a distance of 3 *kosas* (6 miles) from Banaras and contained a temple of Bodhisattva 'touching the sky' ("*asyāh kośatritaye dharmekṣā nāma sanniveśo yatra Bodhisattvasyoccaistara śikhara—cumbitagaganamāyatanam*"—*Vividhitīrthakalpa*, p. 74). *Dharmekṣā* is now famous as *Dhamekha*.

It was from the time of Buddha that Sarnath gained importance. After the attainment of the supreme knowledge, Buddha selected this place for his First Sermons. He delivered here the '*Dharmacakra pravartana Sūtra*' to Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya and his four companions. This was a great event in the life of Buddha and has been referred to, time and again, in the Buddhist literature. This event also became a favourite subject with the sculptors, who depicted in their art the scene of the First Sermon of Buddha representing the turning of the Wheel of Dharma (*Dharmacakra pravartana*). In one of the stone slabs found at Sarnath we find in the centre the figure of Buddha seated in the *dharma-cakra pravartana mudrā*. To his sides are seen the figures of the five first disciples (*Pañcha Bhaddavaggīya Bhikkhus*). In front of the pedestal is seen the Wheel of Law (*Dhamma Chakka*) indicative of the First Sermon. On both sides of this wheel there is a deer.

Buddha stayed at Sarnath for some time giving discourses to his disciples. Gradually the number of his followers increased. After a period of three months, the *Saṅgha* was established at Sarnath. The number of Buddha's disciples at that time was 60. According to the Buddhist tradition, two *Vihāras* were constructed here during the life-time of Buddha. One of these is said to have been constructed by Nandiya, the rich merchant of Banaras.[1]

[1] There is, however, no trace of such buildings said to have been erected during Buddha's time. Probably the monks at that time were living in thatched huts (*parṇaśālās*). Such huts can be seen carved in the sculptures at Sanchi, Sarnath, Mathura, Amarāvati, etc.

From the time of Aśoka, the great Maurya Emperor, Sarnath became a famous centre of Buddhism. Aśoka, in course of his pilgrimage, came here with his preceptor, Upagupta. The latter told him that Buddha turned the Wheel of Law here—"*Asmin pradeśe Mahārāja Bhagavatā dharmma chakram pravartitam*" (it was here, O King, that the Lord turned the Wheel of Law). Aśoka ordered for the construction of a lofty column on the spot, where Buddha delivered his First Sermon. The capital of this pillar was adorned with four lion figures. A *Caitya* was also ordered to be constructed.

In the Śunga period (2nd-1st cent. B.C.) a railing was constructed at Sarnath, remains of which are now preserved in the Sarnath Museum. A temple of crescent-shape was also constructed here, only the foundation of which is now extant. Some broken sculptures bearing the shining polish have also been obtained.

During the Kushāṇa period (1-180 A.D.) several images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas weres carved at Sarnath. The early statues are based on the Mathura style of art, a very striking example of which is the image of Bodhisattva of red sandstone donated by Friar Bala.

The Gupta-Harṣa period (320-650 A.D.) is of singular importance in the history of Sarnath. The first Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hian, who visited Sarnath early in the 5th century A.D. saw 4 huge *Stūpas* and 2 *Saṅghārāmas*. The second pilgrim, Hiuen-tsang, in the 7th century found here 30 *Saṅghārāmas*, in which 1,500 monks were living. All of them were the followers of the *Sammitīya* school. The buildings of *Mrigadāva* at that time were divided into 8

parts and all of them were within one enclosure wall. Hiuen-tsang has described the artistic *Caityas, stūpas* and temples in glowing terms. One of the temples was 200 feet high. Its lower portion was built of stones and the upper of bricks. The pilgrim notes that the Aśokan pillar was 70 feet high and the dilapidated *Stūpa* was 100 feet in height. He has also described several commemorative *stūpas*.[1]

Sarnath enjoyed the patronage of the Gupta emperors and also of Harṣavardhana. A few of the Buddhist statues here were probably installed by emperors Kumāragupta and Budhagupta. Some of the statues made during the Gupta period are superb from the art point of view.[2]

After Harṣa, Sarnath remained under the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperors of Kanauj. No inscription of their time has so far been found here. After the Pratīhāras, Sarnath came under the sway of the Pāla Kings of Bengal. Two inscriptions, dated 1026 and 1058 A.D. respectively, have been obtained at Sarnath. The first refers to two brothers, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, who repaired the *Dharmarājikā Stūpa* and the *Dharmacakra*. During the time of the second inscription (dated 1058), Sarnath was ruled over by Karṇa of the Cedi dynasty.

In the 12th century A.D. Sarnath received the patronage of the Gāhaḍvāla rulers. Kumāradevī, the devout Buddhist queen of king Govinda Chandra, not only repaired

[1] Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 48 ff.

[2] For details see Chapter XVI—'*Buddhist Art.*'

several ancient buildings at Sarnath but also caused the construction of a big Buddhist monastery.

In the year 1194 A.D. the Gāhaḍvāla king Jayacandra was defeated and killed by Muhammad Ghori. The town of Banaras was subjected to utter destruction. Sarnath also met the same fate. Numerous structures here were raised to the ground. The Bhikkhus of Sarnath were either killed or they escaped to other places of safety. Gradually Sarnath became totally deserted. In course of time, people forgot it altogether. During the Mughal period an ordinary building called '*Caukhaṇḍī* was construced over one of the mounds.

In 1794, Jagatsingh of Banaras opened up the *Dharmarājikā Stūpa* for taking away its bricks. Some pieces of bones were found by his men in a casket of green stone. The bones were thrown in the river Gaṅgā ! But this unexpected discovery drew the attention of some people to this ancient site. Stray digging was done here and there, causing a great harm to the remains. Many ancient statues obtained during the digging were utilised for the construction of a bridge on the river Varuṇā.

Cunningham was the first to identify this ancient Buddhist centre in the year 1835.[1] He took steps for its necessary protection. The first scientific excavation was begun here in the year 1904 and continued for a number of seasons, thus bringing to light several structures of various periods. A large number of sculptures and other anti-

[1] See Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. I (1871), pp. 105 ff.

quities, mostly Buddhist, were also obtained during these excavations.[1]

The efforts of the late lamented Anāgarika Dharmapāla and of the Mahābodhi Society of India towards protection and renovation of Sarnath are praisworthy indeed. It was due to their untiring efforts that the new *Mūlagandhakuṭī vihāra* was constructed. This is a magnificient building, its walls having been adorned with paintings by the famous Japanese painter, Kose-tsu-nos. The subjects of these paintings are the various events of Buddha's life. The Buddhists of Burma, China and Tibet have also constructed here their respective temples. The Government of India and the U. P. Government have recently provided all necessary facilities for the visitors and have made Sarnath a centre of great attraction.

3. Sāṅkāśya (Sankissā)

Sankissā (ancient Sāṅkāśya) is a small village in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh. It is situated on latitude 27.20 N. and longitude 79.20 E. on the Kali river which marks the boundary line between Etah, Mainpuri and Farrukhabad districts. Sankissā is reached from the small station of Mota on the Shikohabad-Farrukhabad branch-line of the Northern Railway. From Mota, Sankissā is about four miles towards north-east. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has recently constructed a new

[1] See *A. S. I.*, *A.* R., 1904-05, pp. 59 ff ; 1906-07, pp. 68 ff ; 1907-08, pp. 43 ff ; 1914-15, pp. 97 ff ; 1919-20, p. 26; 1921-22, PP. 42 ff and 1927-28, pp. 95 ff. The bulk of the finds is now exhibited in the local Museum.

metalled road from the Pakhnā railway station of the same branch-line to Sankissā. The distance from Pakhnā to Sankissā is seven miles and it is now the most convenient route to reach Sankissā.

The ancient name of Sankissā was *Sāṅkāśya* (Pālī *Saṅkassa*). In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa[1] mention is made of a king Sīradhvaja, the father of Sītā. He was the ruler of Mithilā. His younger brother was Kuśadhvaja Janaka. At that time Sudhanvā was the ruler of Sāṅkāśya. There ensued a war of supremacy between the two dyansties of Mithilā and Sāṅkāśya. Sudhanvā was overpowered and Sīradhvaja made his younger brother Kuśadhvaja the ruler of Sāṅkāśya. In the Farrukhabad district there is a place called '*Jaṅkhada*' (also called *Janaka kṣetra*), which is said to be associated with Janaka. During the marriage ceremony of Sītā, Kuśadhvaja, along with his daughters, went from Sāṅkāśya to attend it at Mithilā.

Pāṇini, the noted Sanskrit grammarian, has referred to Sāṅkāśya in his work Aṣṭādhyāyī.[2] From the time of Gautama the Buddha, Sāṅkāśya rose to prominence and became one of the most important centres connected with the life of Buddha. According to the tradition Lord Buddha descended from the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven at Sankissā. On one side of Buddha came down Indra and on the other Brahmā. This spot of descent is very sacred to Buddhists. It is identified with a site near the present temple of *Bisaharīdevī* in Sankissā. In the Buddhist litera-

[1] *Ādikāṇḍa*, chapter 70.

[2] *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4, 2, 80.

ture numerous references are found to *Sańkassa*. In the plastic art of India the artists have often depicted the descent of Lord Buddha along with other main events of his life.

The ancient town of Sāṅkāśya (Saṅkassa) lay between Kanauj and Atranjī. Another road joined it to Mathura. Saṅkassa has been mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsang. The latter visited this kingdom in the seventh century A.D. He has called it *Kapitha* and has described it in the following manner :—

"The kingdom was more than 2,000 *lī* and its capital above twenty *lī* in circuit. The climate and products of the district were like those of *pi-lo-shan-na*. There were four Buddhist monasteries (that is perhaps, at the capital) and about 1,000 Brethern, all of the *Sammitīya School*. The *Deva* temples were ten in number and the non-Buddhists, who lived pell-mell, were Śaivites.

Above twenty *lī* east from the capital was a large monastery of fine proportions and perfect workmanship. Its representations of Buddhist work were in the highest style of ornament. The monastery contained some hundreds of Brethren, all of the *Sammitīya* School. There also lived lay dependents, some myriads in number. Within the enclosing wall of the monastery were Triple stairs of precious substances in a row south to north, and sloping down to east, where *Ju-ali* (Buddha) descended from the *Trayastrimśa* Heaven. The *Ju-ali* had ascended from Jetavana to Heaven and there lodged in the "Good-Law-Hall," where he had preached to his mother ; at the end of three months he was about to descend. Then Indra by his divine power set up triple stairs of precious substance, the middle

one of gold, the left one of crystal, and the right one of silver. The Buddha descended by the middle stair, Brahmā holding a white whisk came down with him by the right stair and Indra holding up a jewelled sunshade descended by the left stair, while *devas* in the air scattered flowers and praised the Buddha. These stairs survived until some centuries before the pilgrim's time when they sank out of sight. Then certain kings on the site of the original stairs set up the present ones of brick and stone adorned with precious substances and after the pattern of the original stairs. The present stairs were above 70 feet high with a Buddhist temple on the top, in which was set a stone image of the Buddha. Images of Brahmā and Indra were at the top of the right and left stairs respectively and these, like the originals, appeared to be descending.

By the side of these was an Aśokan pillar of a lustrous violet colour and very hard with a crouching lion on the top facing the stairs. Quaintly carved figures were on each side of the pillar, and according to one's bad or good desire figures appeared to him in the pillar. Not far from the stairs was a tope, where the Four First Buddhas had sat and walked up and down. Beside it was a tank where the Buddha had taken bath ; beside this, was a Buddhist temple, where the Buddha had gone into *samādhi*. Beside the temple was a large stone platform 50 paces long and seven feet high, where the Buddha had walked up and down, all his footsteps having the tracery of a lotus flower and on both sides of it were small topes erected by Indra and Brahmā. In front was the place where the Bhikshuṇī of lotus flower colour (*Uttpalavarṇā*), wishing to be the first

to see the Buddha on his descent from Heaven, transformed herself into a universal sovereign. At the same time Subhūti, sitting meditating on the vanity of things, beheld the spiritual body of Buddha. The *Ju-ali* told *Utpalavarṇā* that she had not been the first to see him, for Subhūti contemplating the vanity of things, had preceded her in seeing his spiritual body. The Buddha's exercise-platform was enclosed by a wall and had a large tope, to the south of which was a tank, the dragon of which protected the sacred traces from wanton injury."[1]

From the above description of the Chinese pilgrim it appears that during the 7th centuary, both Buddhism and Śaivism were flourishing in Sankissā. There were a number of big monasteries and temples. The place was regarded very sacred. The Maurya emperor Aśoka, and after him several other kings, erected a number of beautiful buildings in the town.

The present-day Sankissā abounds in sculptural and terracotta remains. The pillar of Aśoka, to which the Chinese pilgrim has made a reference, has not so far been traced. Only its capital, with an elephant's figure, has been found and is preserved near the *Bisaharī Devī* temple. The shining Mauryan polish on the capital is simply remarkable. The Chinese pilgrim thought the figure on the capital to be of a lion. But from a close view, one can clearly see that it is an elephant having its trunk broken. The capital bears decorative patterns of lotus flowers and *peepal* leaves.

[1] Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* Vol. I, p. 330-334.

Close to this capital stands a stone male image (ht. 3′-7″). The figure is headless and wears a number of ornaments. It can be assigned to the second centuary B.C.

There is a colossal Śivaliṅga and a railing pillar at Sankissā. Large number of stone statues, clay figurines, sealings, beads and coins disocovered here are now exhibited in the State Museum, Lucknow, Indian Museum, Calcutta and other museums of India.[1]

The mounds at Sankissā have yielded a good number of silver and copper punch-marked coins. The tribal coins of Pañcāla kings and copper coins of Kushāṇa rulers are also found here in large quantities. Sankissā remained for a pretty long time under the Pañcāla rulers, whose capital was at Ahicchatrā, in the present Bareilly district of U. P. Recently an inscribed brick (size 11″ × 6″) was found in one of the mounds of Sankissā. This brick bears a Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd cent. B.C. The inscription is in two lines and reads as follows :—

1. *Bhadasamasa Savajīvaloke puṭhagorathasa*
2. *Bhaṭikaputsa Jeṭhasa Bhagaviputasa.*

The language of the inscription is Prākrit. The inscription refers to the donation made by one Jeṭha, son of Bhaṭika and Bhārgavī.

The present village of Sankissā is situated on a high mound. The long chain of other mounds is spread outside the village. Its length is 1,500 ft. and breadth 1,000 ft. It is called *kilā* (fort) by the people. To the east of village

[1] Some valuable antiquities can be seen in the personal collections of Sri Chandrika Prasad Dikshit of Sankissā.

Sankissā, at about two furlongs' distance is a place called *Caukhaṇḍī*. Here were found a large number of ancient bricks of large size. The land to the right side of *Caukhaṇḍī* is called '*Panthawālī*.' To its south is the site called '*Nīvī-kā-koṭ*.' There are other sites to the north-east of *Caukhaṇḍī*, which have yielded several valuable antiquities. A railing pillar (ht. 2'-9") of the Mathura sand-stone was found here. This octagonal pillar belongs to the Buddhist railing which was constructed at sankissā in the 1st Cent. B.C.[1]

To the north-east of the temple called *Ṭerhā Mahādeva* is a pond called '*Nāgasura*' (also called 'Kandhāi Tāl'). The pilgrims who visit Sankissā go round this pond. There are several other places near this pond which are held in high veneration by all religious people.

Sankissā is sacred to Hindus also. The Saksena subcaste of the Hindus regards this place as its original home. A large fair is held at Sankissā during the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (August), in which Hindus of all castes participate and worship the image of *Bisaharī devī*. It appears that there was an old statue of this goddess here which has since been replaced by a modern one.

Realising the great importance of Sankissā as a religious centre the Government of U. P. has recently constructed a good metalled road from the Pakhanā railway station to Sankissā. A rest house for visitors has also been construct-

[1] For details regarding the ancient sites of Sankissā and their archaeological remains see Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, pp. 271-279 and Vol. XI, pp. 22 ff. Also see *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1925-26, p. 110.

ed. It is necessary to exhibit a few archaeological finds of the site in a suitable building, so that visitors to the place may have an idea of the importance of ancient Sāṅkaśya.

4. KUŚĪNAGAR

Kusinagar, the scene of Gautama Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, is the other holy place of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh. Cunningham identified it with Kasiā in Gorakhpur (now in Deoria) district.[1] Smith[2] and several other scholars[3] disputed the identification. However, subsequent discoveries at the place, notably that of the large *Parinirvāṇa* image, exactly as noticed by Hiuen-tsang, have proved the soundness of Cunningham's intuition. The site has also yielded a large number of terracotta seals bearing the legend '*Śrī Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāvihārīyārya bhikshu* -

[1] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 493 ; *A. S. R.*, I, p. 76 ff. Kasia is 32 miles east from Gorakhpur, 21 miles north from Deoria and 13 miles south-west from Padrona, and connected to all of them with motorable roads.

[2] Vide, *J. R. A. S.*, (1902), p. 139 ff; *E. H. I.* (4th Edn.) p. 167, n. 5. His main argument is the impossibility of reconciling the extant remains at Kasia with the data furnished by Hiuen-tsang. However, it may be pointed out that even at Sarnath, about the identity of which there is no doubt, it is difficult to harmonise the Chinese accounts with the existing conditions.

[3] Cf. Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, (1913), p. 152. Dr. Hoey (*J. A. S. B.*, LXIX, Pt. I, p. 83; LXX, Pt. I, p. 29 ff) identified Kasia with the place where Buddha received the *Kaṣāya* or the mendicant's robe after the Great Renunciation. Even Carlleyle, who identified Kasia with Kusinagar, had doubts about the origin of its name, which he thought may have been derived from that of Mahākāśyapa (*A. S. R.*, XVIII, pp. 93-4).

saṅghasya.[1] Further, the find of a copper-plate with the inscription[2] '*Parinirvāṇacaitye tāmrapaṭṭa-iti*' from the *stūpa* behind the *Nirvāṇa* Temple, has set the controversy at rest. It is also significant that Kasia is the only site in India to possess a colossal *parinirvāṇa* image of stone in the round, although the death of Buddha has ever been a favourite theme with the Buddhist artists.[3]

Kusinagar had other names too, viz Kusīnārā,[4] Kuśīnagarī[5] and Kuśīgrāma[6]. In an earlier age, long before the birth of Buddha, it was named Kuśāvatī.[7] Hiuen-tsang has transliterated the name as *Kou-shin-na-ka-lo*, which according to him denoted both the city and the country, of which it was the capital[8]. The latter is known to Indian literature as *Mallaraṭṭha*[9] or *Mallarāṣṭra.*[10]

[1] *A. S. I., A.* R., 1905-06, p. 84.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 77.

[3] Cf. Vogel's comment on Smith's statement : ". . . . this author, while overestimating the value of Fa-hien's and Hiuen-tsang's figures for distances, underrates the demonstrative power of the colossal Nirvāna statue" (*A. S. I., A. R.*, 1904-5, p. 43).

[4] Cf. *Digha.*, II, pp. 109 ; *Dīpavaṃśa*, III, 32; *Mahāvaṃśa*, III, 1.

[5] *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 152, 153, 194.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[7] Cf. *Digha.*, II, pp. 146, 170; *Jātaka*, Fausboll, I, p. 392 ; V, p. 278 . *Dīpavaṃśa*, III and *Mahāvaṃśa*, I. also mention Kuśāvatī as an ancient capital of India.

[8] *Watters*, II, p. 25.

[9] *Jātaka*, Fausboll, I, p. 392 ; V, p. 278,

[10] The Mallas were split up into two states with their capitals at Kusinārā and Pāvā, respectively. The former were known as Kosinārakā and the latter as Pāveyyakā (*Digha Nikāya*, II, p. 167) ; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 9, 34.

The city, when at the height of its glory, measured 12 *yojanas* in length and 7 in breadth,[1] but in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen-tsang found it only 10 *li* in circuit.[2] It was situated, along an important trade route, on the western bank of Hiraṇyavatī[3]—a position at once of commercial and strategic importance. Nearby was the great *Sāla* forest, a part of which was known as Sālavana Upavattana, also Devavana and Baliharaṇa-vana. It was the favourite resort of the Mallas and contained a palace or rest-house for their chiefs.[4]

Kusinagar was the capital of a Malla state, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of India in the days of Buddha and

[1] *Dīgha*. II, pp. 146, 170.

[2] *Watters*, II, pp. 25-6.

[3] Usually identified with Chotī Gandak (*A. G. I.* p. 495). Bhikshu Dharmarakshita thinks that its modern representatives are the two small channels Kusminara and Hirava-ki-nari, in the vicinity of Kasia (*Kuśīnagara kā Itihāsa*, p. 32).

Ancient texts also mention the distance between Kusinagar and other important cities in India. It was *tini gavyūtāni* distant from Pāvā (*Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, II, p. 573), 25 *yojanas* from Rajagriha (*Ib.*, p. 609), 100 *yojanas* from Sāgala (*Jātaka*, Fausboll, V, p. 290), and 12 *yojanas* to the east of the Ember's Tope of the Mauryas (Giles, *Travels of Fa-hian*. chap. XXIV). Hiuen-tsang had to travel 700 *li* to reach Vārānasī from Kusinagar (*Watters*, II, p. 46). The *Life* gives the distance as 500 *li* only.

[4] Our authorities are not unanimous with respect to the situation of Sālavana relative to Kusinagar. The *Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta* merely says that it was 'on the further side of the river Hiraṇyavatī' (S. B. E., XI, p. 85). Fa-hian places it on the same river to the north of the city (Legge, *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, chapter XXIV), and Hiuen-tsang 3 or 4 *li* to the north-west of the capital city, on the other side of the Ajitavatī (Hiraṇyavatī) and not far from the west bank of the river (*Watters*, II, p. 28).

Mahāvīra.[1] It had, then, a republican form of government.[2] We have several references to the Santhāgāra of the Mallas, where they met to discuss the public affairs. It was to their Assembly that Ānanda carried the news of the impending death of Buddha. Again, we find them discussing there how to perform his obsequies in a befitting manner[3]. Kauṭilya, too, classifies the Malla state as a *Rājaśabdopajīvī Saṅgha*[4]. Formerly, however, it had been a monarchical state, ruled by the kings of *Mahāsammata vaṃśa*.[5] Among them were included such renowned sovereings as Okkāka (Ikshvāku), Kuśa and Mahāsudassana.[6] The Dīpavaṃśa (III, 32) also mentions Kusīnārā as the capital of twelve kings, the descendents of Talissara, a king of Takṣaśilā.

The Mallas figure prominently in the Buddhist and Jaina texts. They were the Kṣatriyas of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra*,[7] and so naturally devoted to manly sports and wrestling.[8] They, however, did not neglect learning either, and their young men went to the distant Takṣaśilā for higher education. They paid respects to both Mahāvīra and Gautama

[1] Vide *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 213 ; IV, 252 ; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 34 ; *Bhagavati Sūtra*, XVI, I

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 231.

[3] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, pp. 147, 159.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, XI, 1, 6.

[5] *Mahāvaṃśa*, II, 1 ff.

[6] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, pp. 146, 169-96 ; *Jātaka*, Fausboll, I, p. 392 ; V, pp. 278 ff.

[7] Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 147. *Manu Smriti* (X. 22) classifies them as *Vrātya* Kshatriyas.

[8] *Jātaka*, Fausboll, II, p. 65.

Buddha, the two eminent teachers of ancient India. We know from *Kalpasūtra*,[1] how the Mallas and their allies celebrated the occasion of the passing away of the former. Likewise, their respect for the latter is evidenced by the consideration with which they treated his last remains.[2]

Buddha had paid several visits to Kusinagar prior to his death. On one such occasion the Mallas had decided to impose a fine on any citizen who failed to receive and escort him to the city.[3] During some of these visits he stayed at the Baliharaṇa-vana, where he preached two of the Kusīnārā *suttas*[4] as well as the *Kinti sutta*.[5] Another *sutta* was preached during his stay at the Upavattana.[6] The *Mahāsudassana-suttanta*[7] and the *Mahāsuddassana Jātaka* were also narrated at Kusinagar.

Kusinagar in the days of Buddha was by no means a city of the first rank. Ānanda was disappointed at the Master's selection of "this little wattel and daub town ...this town in the midst of the jungle...this branch township" for his *parinirvāṇa*. "Lord," he pleaded, "there are other great cities (*Mahānagarāni*) such as Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī and Vārāṇasī. Let the Blessed One die in one

[1] *S. B. E.*, XXII, p. 266.

[2] *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta*, v-vi.

[3] Vide, *Vinaya Pitaka*, I, p. 247 · '*Yo Bhagavato paccuggamanaṃ na karissati pañcha satam daṇḍo 'ti.*'

[4] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 274 f , V, p. 79 f.

[5] *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, p. 238 f.

[6] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II, p. 79.

[7] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 169.

of them......" The latter snubbed him : "Say not so, Ānanda, say not so" and revealed to him the glorious past of Kusinagar.[1]

We catch a glimpse of its past greatness in the Mahāsudassana-suttanta. During the reign of the *cakkavattī* king Mahāsudassana, the 'conqueror of the four quarters of the earth' (*caturanto vijitāvi*) it was the chief of 84,000 cities (*caturāsītinagara-sahassāni......pamukhāni*), 'mighty and prosperous......full of people......provided with all things' and resounding, both by night and day, with 'the ten cries.'[2] Its defences, too, were perfect. The city was surrounded by seven ramparts (*sattāhi pakārehi parikkhittā*) and had four gates (catunnaṃ dvarāni). We have also got an exaggerated account of its palaces, ponds and avenues of sāla trees, as well as of the wealth of its rulers.

Three reasons have been assigned for Buddha's choice of Kusinagar for the last scene of his life, viz., (1) it was the proper venue for the preaching of the *Mahā-sudassana suttanta*, (2) Subhadda, whom he was to admit to the Saṅgha just before his death, was living there, and (3) the Brāhmaṇa Droṇa would be available there to solve the problem of his relics.[3] Moreover, it had been the

[1] *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 146, 169 ; *S. B. E.*, XI, pp. 99-100 ; 247-48.

[2] The ten cries were those of the elephants, horses, chariots, drum, tabor, lute, singing, cymbals, gong and the cry 'Eat, drink and be merry' (asnatha-pivattha-khādatheti..). They are suggestive of the prosperity of the city. *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 146-47, 169 ff ; *S. B. E.*, XI, pp. 100-01, 248-88. Sudassana Jātaka also refers to the encompassing walls of Kuśāvatī.

[3] *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, II, pp. 573 ff.

site of his death in seven previous births and he beheld no other spot 'where the Tathāgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body'.[1]

The Master kept his last *vassa* at Vaiśālī (modern Basārh in Muzaffarpur district, Bihar). There he had a severe attack of illness and prophesied that he would pass away in three months' time.[2] Marching through Bhaṇḍagāma, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma and Bhoganagara,[3] he arrived at Pāvā, where he was entertained to his last meal by Cunda, the smith (*kammāraputta*). It unfortunately led to dysentery (*lohita-pakkhaṇḍikā*), but the Tathāgata continued his journey until he reached the Sālavana of Kusinagar. There he asked Ānanda to spread out his robe on the *mañcha* between the twin sāla trees (*yamaka sālānam antare*) and laid himself down on his right side, head to the north, with one leg resting on the other.[4]

Buddha knew that it was the last day of his life, and he sent the following message to the Mallas : "This day, O Vāseṭṭhas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathāgata will take place.......Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter saying 'in our

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 198 ; *S. B. E.*, XI, p. 288.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 106.

[3] Cf. *Mahāparinibbāna suttanta*, IV, I, 5-6, 13. Bhaṇḍagāma has not been identified. The rest are represented, respectively, by the ruins of Hāthīkhala near Hathua in Bihar, the village of Amaya, 6 miles to the S. W. of Tamkuhi, Jamunahi village, 8 miles to the N. W. of Hathikhala, Badraon, 6 miles W. of Amaya and Fazilnagar in Deoria. All these places contain ruins of ancient buildings. Cf. *Kuśīnagara kā Itihāsa*, pp. 17-18.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

own village did the death of our Tathāgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgata in his last hours."[1] With heavy hearts they proceeded to the Sāla Grove, where Ānanda presented them to the Master. His last act was the ordination of Subhadda, an old *parivrājaka*, 120 years of age, reputed for his learning and held in high esteem by the people of Kusinagar. Then after his last exhortation to the assembled brethren, he entered into *parinirvāṇa* on the night of the fullmoon day of Vaiśākha[2] His last words were:— *vayadhammā saṁkhārā, appamādena sampādetha* ('Decay is inherent in all component things ; work out your salvation with diligence').[3]

The Mallas made elaborate arrangements for the funeral and paid homage to the remains of the Lord for six days 'with dancing and hymns and music and with garlands and perfumes.' On the seventh day they carried the body ceremoniously through the city to their *Makuṭabandhana caitya*, where it was cremated with full honours due to a *Cakkavattī*.[4] The bones were collected and deposited in the Assembly Hall. Then followed a week of celebrations in honour of the relics.

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 147 ; *S. B. E.*, XI, p. 101.

[2] The traditional date is 543B C. According to Geiger's calculations the *parinirvāṇa* took place in 483 B.C.

[3] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 156 ; *S. B. E.*, XI, p. 114. According to *Dīpavaṁśa* (V, 1) and *Mahāvaṁśa* (III, 1-4), there were present on the occasion 7,00,000 Bhikshus (Jinaputtas), besides innumerable *khattiyas, brāhmaṇas, vessas, suddas* and *devas*.

[4] The last rites were performed in accordance with the instructions of Buddha himself, vide *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, V, 10-12.

Meanwhile the news of Buddha's demise had spread and there appeared emissaries from the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Śākyas of Kapilavastu, Bulīs of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, Mallas of Pāvā, king Ajātaśatru of Magadha and a Brāhmaṇa of Veṭhadīpa,[1] all claiming a share in the holy relics. The Mallas of Kusinagar, who had been safeguarding the remains 'with a lattice work of spears and......a rampart of bows,' were determined not to part with them. War was imminent. One of the Sanchi reliefs shows the seige of Kusinagar by rival claimants.[2] However, saner counsels prevailed and they agreed with the Brāhmana Droṇa that it was not proper to go to war for the sake of the relics of one who was the greatest apostle of peace. The relics were divided among the eight claimants. The same relief at Sanchi shows them departing in chariots and on elephants, with their shares borne on the heads of the latter. The Mauryas of Pippalīvana came late and had to content themselves with the ashes. Droṇa retained for himself the vessel use din making the division. All of them raised *stūpas* over their shares. An ancient relief is believed to portray the dedication of the *stūpa* containing Buddha's relics by the Mallas of Kusinagar.[3]

Kusinagar became an important centre of Buddhist pilgrimage, and the *stūpa* built by the Mallas became the

[1] A seal die of the Veṭhadīpa Vihāra, with the legend '*Śrī-Viṣṇu-dvīpa-vihāre bhikshu-saṅghasya*' was found at Kasia (*A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1906-7, p. 61).

[2] Southern gateway, lowest architrave, back view. (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 53-4, and pl. IV.)

[3] *Ibid*, p. 63.

nucleus of other monuments that rose there in the course of centuries. Archaeological excavations have revealed how the followers of Śākyamuni, of different ages and climes, raised *stūpas*, *vihāras* and *caityas*, in the holy city.

Unfortunately, Kusinagar's history gets obscure after the death of Buddha. The Mallas succumbed to the rising tide of Magadhan imperialism, and their capital sank into insignificance. However, the Sālavana and the Makuṭa-bandhana *caitya* continued to attract pious Buddhists from far and near, who visited the site of *parinirvāṇa* defying all obstacles, human and natural.

In the third century B.C., when the sage Upagupta brought Aśoka on pilgrimage to Kusinagar, the site of *parinirvāṇa* was the only object of interest that he could show to the royal disciple. The latter donated a lac of rupees for the construction of a *caitya* at the place.[1] At the same time, the emperor had the old relic-tower opened for the redistribution of the sacred remains into 84,000 pieces, which were enshrined into as many *stūpas* built by him all over his vast empire.[2] Hiuen-tsang noticed here three *stūpas* and two pillars ascribed to Aśoka. Recent excavations, too, have brought to light the remains of various buildings of the Mauryan age, as determined by the size of their bricks.

[1] Aśoka is said to have fainted when he was told that the master had passed away on that spot. (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 394).

[2] Aśoka's visit to the *stūpa* of Rāmagrāma, which he failed to open, is represented in a relief at Sanchi (*Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 50-51).

The prosperity of Kusinagar did not last long. In the fifth century A.D., Fa-hian noticed 'the utter ruin and desolation of the city andthe district,' but *vihāras* were still extant at Kusinagar. He also noticed *stūpas* marking the sites of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, Subhadda's attainment of arhatship, the falling of Vajrapāṇi's mace, as well as the places where the Mallas had honoured the body of the Lord for a week and where the division of the relics had taken place.[1] Two centuries later, Hiuen-tsang, too, found the place in more or less the same condition. His journey from the Embers Tope to Kusinagar lay through a great forest, full of wild animals, and infested with robbers and hunters. 'The city walls were in ruins and the towns and villages deserted......there were very few inhabitants, the interior of the city being a wild waste.' He has not mentioned the strength of the monastic establishment at Kusinagar, but has left an account of the various monuments that he saw there. These included : (1) the large brick temple, containing an image of the 'dead' Buddha, (2) an Aśokan *stūpa* near it, which 'though in ruins was still about 200′ high,' (3) a stone pillar in front of it on which were recorded the 'circumstances of Buddha's decease,' (4-5) two *stūpas*, near the *Parinirvāṇa* Temple, commemorating the sacrifices of the Bodhisattva in two of his former births, (6) a *stūpa* on the spot where Subhadda attained *nirvāṇa*, (7) a *stūpa* marking the site where the Vajrapāṇi Yakṣa fell in swoon at the death of Buddha, (8) a *stūpa* on the spot where the body of the deceased

[1] Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hian*, Chap. XXIV.

Buddha was worshipped by the *devas*, (9) a *stūpa* to commemorate the mourning of Mahāmāyā, (10) the cremation *stūpa* 'to the north of the city, about 300 paces on the other side of the river.' The ground there was 'still of a yellowish-black colour, the soil having a mixture of ashes and charcoal,' (11) a *stūpa*, besides the above, where Mahākāśyapa had paid the last homage to the feet of the Lord, (12) an Aśokan *stūpa* marking the site of the division of the relics and (13) a stone pillar in front of that, recording the circumstances of the division. Hiuen-Tsang also mentions an Aśokan *stūpa* at the site of the house of Cunda, but *Dīgha Nikāya*[1] describes him as a resident of Pāvā.[2]

Carlleyle made an attempt to locate the monuments noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, but it is not possible to identify *every one* of them with certainty. The topography of Kusinagar has changed considerably since the days of Hiuen-tsang. The rivers and channels have changed courses, the buildings of his days collapsed, with new ones arising over the ruins, and many of the smaller mounds have been levelled down and brought under the plough. None of the pillars mentioned by him has been discovered so far.

I-tsing, towards the close of the seventh century, found Kusinagar in a more flourishing condition. The change might have been due to the interest taken by Harṣa. I-tsing mentions the *caitya* at the 'holy place where the Śāla trees turned white like the wings of a crane' and the *Pan-da-na* (*Makuṭa-bandhana*) monsatery. They attracted

[1] *Dīgha*, II, pp. 126 ff.

[2] See *Watters*, II, pp. 25-45 for an account of Kusinagar as seen by Hiuen-tsang.

numerous visitors, particularly in the seasons of pilgrimage, when the 'travelling priests' assembled there 'by thousands ......day after day from every quarter.' The usual strength of the monastery was a hundred, but in spirng and autumn it was 'sometimes unexpectedly visited by a multitude' (of travellers). He records the story how on one occasion 500 priests suddenly arrived there, but the resident brethren had no difficulty in offering them food. He has also noted how the time was regulated in Kusinagar monasteries.[1]

The subsequent history of this site is unknown to us,[2] except that in the 11th-12th centuries it owned the sway of a feudatory line of Kālācurī rulers. Their genealogy is partly preserved in a very fragmentary inscription, discovered by Carlleyle in 1875-6. The name of the king, in whose reign it was engraved, as well as the object of it have been lost. Nor is there any date in the preserved portion. Very probably it recorded the construction of the monastery in the ruins of which it was found.' The record, which opens with invocations to Sankara, Pārvatī, Tārā and Buddha, throws valuable light on the religious toleration in ancient India. To the same spirit may also be ascribed the images of Visṇu and Gaṇeśa, that were recovered by the same archaeologist from the ruins of this Buddhist site. I-tsing has also referred to the worship of Mahākāla, who, according to 'the ancient

[1] Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 29-30, 38-39, 14[illegible]

[2] According to Chavannes' *Memoire* Ta-cheng-teng, a disciple of Hiuen-tsang, who visited Kusinagar with I-tsing, died there while staying in the *Mahāparinirvāna Vihāra*.

[3] *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 121-37 ; *A. S. I.*, *A.* R., 1910-11, p. 64.

tradition' belonged to the beings (in the heaven) of the Great God (Maheśvara) at Kusinagar and other monasteries.

The monastic establishments at Kusinagar could not escape the iconoclastic zeal of the early Muslim invaders. Carlleyle found, in the course of excavations, unmistakable evidence of their wanton destruction 'by fire and sword.'[1] Numerous charred remains found among the debris show that some of these monuments had suffered a similar catastrophe even earlier, about the fifth century A.D., probably in the wake of the Hūṇa invasions.[2]

Kusinagar was deserted and forgotten, so much so that even its identity became a matter of controversy. Cunningham in 1860-61 found here two large mounds of ruins, respectively known as *Māthā-Kunwar-kā-Koṭ* and *Rāmabhār-kā-Tīlā*, and a number of lesser mounds interspersed all around. A few years later Carlleyle found the whole area overgrown with dense and thorny jungle, and he had literally to cut his way through it. Nothing in the shape of ruins was visible anywhere. The place, no longer protected by its sanctity, fell a prey to the villagers' lust for bricks, and some of its holy sites were misappropriated for other purposes. On the top of the Cremation *Stūpa* stood the shrine of 'Rāmabhār Bhawānī' and another provided the last resting place to a *naṭa*.

[1] *A. S. R.*, XVIII, pp. 62-3 ; XXII, p. 21.

[2] Cf. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1907-8, p. 51 ff. If we can believe Hiuen-tsang, Kusinagar often suffered from forest conflagrations even in the remote past (*Watters*, II, pp. 29-30).

The remains at Kasia were first described by Buchanan[1] and Liston[2] but these scholars made no attempt to establish the identity of the site. It attracted greater notice after the publication of Cunningham's report and his tentative suggestion that it represented the ancient Kusinagar.[3] His preliminary excavations were followed by those of Carlleyle during 1875-77. The Government acquired the site in 1893 and scientific excavations were conducted by Vogel and Hiranand Sastri, during the cold seasons of 1904-7 and 1910-12 respectively.[4]

These excavations have laid bare a vast assemblage of *stūpas*, *vihāras* and *caityas* built not only close together but, not infrequently, one over the other. Of most of them only basements remain, resulting in a confused mass of brickwork, in which it is not always possible to discern the individual monuments. Nor is it always possible, in the absence of dated records, to determine their respective ages. The Buddhist remains at Kasia have a long history, going back to the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha, if not earlier[5].

[1] *Eastern India*, II, p 357.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, 1837, p. 477.

[3] *A. S. R.*, I, p. 76-85.

[4] For an account of these excavations see *Annual Reports* of *A. S. I.* for 1904-5, 1905-6, 1906-7, 1910-11 and 1911-12. Partial excavations were also carried out by Dr. Hoey and some civilian officials of the district, but no account is available of them. Smith's description of the ruins of Kasia is preserved in *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, pp. 139 ff. It was on his recommendation that the U. P. Government sanctioned the excavation of the *Māthā-kunwara-kā-kot*.

[5] The Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta (v. 13) seems to suggest the existence of a vihāra in Sālavana.

Subsequently, there had been constant collapse and rebuilding, upto 11th or 12th century A.D. The different sizes of the bricks used in their construction also suggest the same period. But the size of bricks alone is not a sufficient criterion for fixing the dates of individual structures, because in later buildings bricks obtained from the spoils of earlier ones have been freely utilised. It would not be possible to describe here all the monuments discovered at Kasia, but they unmistakably demonstrate the great sanctity attaching to the place in the Buddhist world.

There were two principal groups of monuments at Kusinagar, one associated with the site of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* and the other with that of his cremation. This is evident not only from the statements of the Chinese pilgrims, but also from the two distinctive types of seals found there. The former is represented by the *Māthā-Kunwar-kā-Koṭ* and the latter by *Rāmabhār-kā-ṭīlā*. The city proper, according to Cunningham, lay on the site now occupied by the vilage of Anirudhwā, to the south-east of the *Koṭ*. He also identified a mound to the north-east of the village with the palace of the Malla chieftains.[1] Carlleyle agreed with him, but Vogel held that "the town of Kusinagar would have to be sought not at Anirudhwā but beyond that place, viz., in the area between Anirudhwā and the village of Sisvā." The remains at Anirudhwā, according to him, do not reveal the existence of a town, but belong to another group of religious monuments.[2] This,

[1] *A. S.* R., I, p. 82.
[2] *A. S. I.*, *A.* R., 1905-6, p. 77.

however, does not agree with the statement of Hiuen-tsang who locates the *Sālavana* only about half a mile (3 or 4 *li*) to the north-west of the city. Carlleyle believed that the ancient Kusinagar was divided into two parts, viz., the city proper and an outer city which constituted the monastic area.[1] He noticed traces of the boundary walls enclosing the latter. They were partially exposed by Vogel, who estimated their total length at 5,000 feet enclosing an area of about 36 acres.[2]

The *Māthā-Kunwar-kā-Koṭ* concealed the remains of the temple and the *stūpa*, associated with the site of the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha. The former, as discovered by Carlleyle, consisted of a sanctum and an entrance chamber or portico. The walls were standing to a certain height, but the roof had collapsed. It contained a colossal recumbent image of Buddha, about 20′ long. The huge monolith portrays him lying peacefully on his right side, with the head towards the north. The right hand is placed under the head, and the left rests on the thigh. The feet are placed one over the other.[3] The image is placed on

[1] *A. S.* R., XVIII, p. 95.

[2] *A. S. I.*, *A.* R., 1905-6, pp. 73-4.

[3] The image was discovered in 1877 after digging to the depth of about 10′. It was in a terribly smashed up condition, and some parts of it were found built into the *siṁhāsana* or buried under it The image also showed traces of earlier repairs. (*A. S.* R., XVIII, pp. 57-8 ; XXII, p. 17).

This image must have been the principal object of veneration at Kusinagar. Its replicas, in stone or clay, but smaller in size, were also discovered in its ruins. Another colossal image of the dying Buddha is seen in cave no. XXVI at Ajanta.

a large couch. The stone slab attached to its front part shows three persons in mourning, each in a separate niche, believed to represent Ānanda, Subhadda and Mallikā. It also contains the following inscription in characters of the fifth century A.D. mentioning the names of the donor and artist :—

Deyadharmoyam mahā-vihāra-svāmino Haribalasya Pratimā ceyam ghaṭitā Dinnena Māthureṇa.

The shrine is later than the image which wholly occupies its cella, leaving little space for circumambulation. It is certainly not the earliest building on the spot. The excavations have revealed the traces of earlier structures.[1]

The Great Stūpa, which stands behind the *Parinirvāṇa* Temple, but on the same plinth, was also exposed by Carlleyle in a very ruinous condition. Its dome had already gone, only the neck and the plinth were somewhat preserved. It is by no means the first structure raised on the site. Excavations have revealed the earlier monuments encompassed by it. When Hiranand Sastri dismantled the dilapidated top portion, he came upon several carved bricks embedded in the masonry of its drum, showing that the materials of older buildings had been utilized in its construction. Inside the drum was discovered a circular chamber, containing a copper vessel covered with an inscribed copper plate. It mentions the name of Haribala, the donor, as well as the fact of its having been deposited in the *parinirvāṇa-caitya*. The copper vessel contained sand mixed with burnt charcoal, *cowries,* precious stones, seed

[1] Cf. Vogel, *A. S. I., A.* R., 1904-5, pp. 48-9.

pearls and two copper tubes. One of them had ashes, pearls, an emerald, a silver coin of Kumāragupta I and a silver tube, which contained a gold tube, in which were found some brownish substance and two drops of liquid. Haribala of the copper-plate inscription is probably identical with the donor of the parinirvāṇa image, which has been assigned to the fifth century AD. on paleographic grounds. This fact, together with the find of a coin of Kumāragupta, shows that the upper *stūpa* is a construction of the same century. Further down he came upon a small *stūpa*, with a niche in which was enshrined a terracotta image of Buddha. In its interior were found a small earthen pot and some pieces of charcoal, evidently taken from the funeral pyre of a celebrated Buddhist. Sastri assigns to it a date 'not much anterior to the main monument'.[1]

The temple and the *stūpa* described above constitute the nucleus of the monuments in the area of Sālavana. Round them grew a network of shrines and monasteries, refectories and rest-houses, and a very large number of *stūpas*, of different shapes and sizes. Most of them were votive *stūpas* : a few enshrined the old images of the Buddha, while one yielded an urn-like vessel, but without any relics. The monasteries are of the usual type, but some of them must have been of imposing dimensions and remarkably solid construction. The thickness of their walls indicates that they had more than one storey. A few ancient wells, within the monasteries or otherwise, have

[1] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1910-11, pp. 64-5.

also been discovered. The ornamental bricks, discovered on the site with great profusion, are an indication of the artistic merits of Kusinagar monuments.

The spot of Buddha's cremation was marked by a distinct group of monuments, the most important of which was the *Makuṭa-bandhana caitya*. The seals of the convent of *Makuṭa-bandhana* have been found at Kasia. One of them mentions the name in an abbreviated form as 'Bandhana,' apparently corresponding to '*Pan-da-na*' of I-tsing. This site is represented by the large *Rāmabhāra-ṭilā*, on the western bank of the *Rāmabhāra* lake. This mound was thoroughly excavated in search of relics, but none were discovered.

It is not possible to describe here all the monuments discovered at Kasia. They suffice to give us an idea of its grandeur, and the honour it enjoyed in the Buddhist world before the site was desecrated and deserted. Its ruins have yielded other valuable finds also, such as images, clay seals, votive tablets, utensils, implements and architectural pieces. Several large-sized bricks have been found, which, when placed one over the other, form the outlines of human figures and other designs.

A number of stone images, in the round or in relief, and terracotta figurines has been discovered. Among them the images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, naturally, predominate. One represents Māyādevī, and another, probably, Sāriputta. The Brahmanical deities represented in the finds are Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Garuḍa. The most remarkable of the images are the famous *parinirvāṇa* image of Buddha, already described, and the mutilated black

stone image popularly known as '*Māthā Kunwar*,' which has lent its name to one of the local mounds. It was originally enshrined in the chapel of a monastery built during the regime of the Kālācurī princes.[1] Its base contains a much defaced inscription in characters of 11th or 12th century. Among the terracotta figurines there are several representations of animals. Some of the stone images are in red sand-stone. They must have been imported from Mathura, as we find in other Buddhist centres also.

The stone and metal objects of utilitarian value are rather few. The former include millstones, grinding slabs, pestles, a large tub and some discs. To the latter category belong water vessels, bowls, plates and spoons ; articles used in worship, such as bells and incense burners, and iron implements like hatchets and knife-blades or nails, pegs and hinges. A remarkable find from the main *stūpa* was that of gold, silver and copper tubes, which contained the relics.

The paucity of stone and metal objects is more than compensated by the abundance of clay objects ; of pottery of different types, complete or fragmentary, earthen lamps, balls of clay,[2] spindle-whorls and a number of 'pot-images'– earthenware vessels roughly modelled as human figures, the head serving the purpose of a stopper. To the same class belongs an object with a crocodile-like mouth.

[1] *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 64.

[2] Cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 91, on the use of clay balls in Buddhist monasteries.

The clay seals of Kasia deserve more than a passing notice. A very large number of them has been unearthed. They belong to private individuals or to monastic establishments. One is the official seal of a Kumārāmātya. Of the monastic seals, an overwhelming majority pertains to the two important convents of Kusinagar itself, viz., the *Mahāparinirvāṇa vihāra* and the *Makuṭabandhana vihāra*. The earlier varieties of these seals display the characteristic symbols of the two *vihāras*, namely, the coffin of Buddha between the twin sāla trees, and a flaming funeral pyre, respectively, the legends being '*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāvihārīyārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya*'[1] and '*Śrī-Makuṭabandhana-saṅgha*.' On the latter specimens their special symbols are replaced by the wheel-and-deer emblem, which originally belonged to the Sarnath convent but was ultimately adopted as a general symbol of the Buddhist community. Other seals belong to the convents of Eraṇḍa and Vishṇudvīpa. Certain seal dies contain the interesting legend '*Āry-aṣṭa-vriddhai*,' probably referring to the eight holy places where the relics of Buddha were originally enshrined.

Votive clay tablets, too, have been found in considerable numbers. On them is inscribed the Buddhist Formula of the Faith (*Dhamma pariyāya*) either alone or along with the representations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. On

[1] The legend slightly differs on different specimens, variant readings being '*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāre bhikṣu sangbasya*,' '*Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihārīyārya-bhikṣu saṅghasya*,' etc. One specimen reads '*Śrī-Bandhana-mahāvihāre-ārya-bhikṣu saṅghasya*.'

certain specimens we notice an emaciated human being, either standing or sitting in *dhyāna-mudrā*—probably representing Buddha performing austerities at Bodhgaya. Similar images have been discovered in Gandhāra region also, one of the finest examples being in the collection of Lahore Museum.[1] One of the tablets recovered by Carlleyle represents three *stūpas* in a row.

Kusinagar has yielded very few coins. The earliest are the four copper coins of Kadphises II and eight of Kaniṣka I. Others include a gold coin of Candragupta II (Archer type), silver coins of Satrap Damasena and Kumāragupta I (Peacock type) and one copper coin of Jayagupta. But the site has proved rich in epigraphic records. Unfortunately none of them is dated, but they undoubtedly range over a wide period, as indicated by the characters used in them. In addition to the very large number of inscriptions on seals and votive tablets, there are a few on the images recovered from the ruins. The most notable is the record on the *parinirvāṇa* image itself, already noticed. The name of its architect, Dinna, also occurs on the pedestal of another image, which was the gift of Bhadanta Suvira.[2] Likewise the name of its donor, Haribala, also occurs on a copper-plate found inside the Main *Stūpa*. On it is written in black ink (only the first line is engraved) a *Nidāna sūtra* in Sanskrit. The concluding part reads '*Deyadharmoyaṁ aneka vihāra svāmino Haribalasya*......

[1] *Lahore Museum Guide*, pl. V.

[2] The inscription reads '*Deya dharmoyaṃ Sākya bhikṣoh* (*r*) *Bhadanta Suvirasya kritir Dinnasya*', *A. S. I.*, *A.* R., 1906-7, p. 62.

nirvāṇa-caitye tāmra-paṭṭa iti.'[1] Another copper-plate contains the Buddhist creed in three lines. There is only one inscription of historical value and that too is, unfortunately, fragmentary. It is inscribed on a stone slab, now preserved in Lucknow Museum, and refers to a line of Kālācurī princes, probably ruling at Kusīnagar in a feudatory capacity.[2]

Other finds include precious stones, pearls, cornelian beads, *cowries* and an ivory die. However, the objects recovered from the ruins of Kasia are far less in number and significance than the long history and importance of the site would lead us to expect. This paucity of finds, particularly from the upper strata, has led some archaeologists to believe that the monastic establishments at Kusinagar had not met with 'a violent end, but gradually fell into ruin, so that any objects of value which they may have contained had been removed long before the site became buried and covered by forest.'[3]

Happily Kusinagar is pulsating with life once again. It owes its renovation largely to the efforts of the late Bhikshu Mahāvīra, who lived here from 1890 to 1920. His work has been continued by the Burmese monk, Mahā-thera Chandramani. With the assistance of pious donors, notably U-Po-Kya of Burma and Sri Khee-Zarhee of Chittagong, they have not only repaird and restored the ancient monuments, but have also raised new *vihāras*,

[1] *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 77.
[2] *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 121-37.
[3] *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1904-5, p. 45; *Ibid*, 1910-11, pp. 68-69.

caityas and rest-houses. The *Parinirvāṇa* Temple restored by Carlleyle has been thoroughly renovated and the colossal image of Buddha enshrined therein has been covered all over with gold leaves by Burmese pilgrims. A new temple was constructed in 1926 for the old image of the Lord, locally known as '*Māthā-kunwar-kī-mūrti*,' and the *Parinirvāṇa Stūpa* was restored the next year. At present it is 75′ high and has a circumference of 165′ at the base. The whole edifice was pasted over with gold leaves in the fashion of important pagodas in Burma. The New *vihāra* was completed in 1902. Among the rest-houses, the *Ārya Vihāra* built by the Birlas in 1934 is a commodious building. The annual fair on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Buddha, instituted by Mahā-thera Chandramaṇi, has become very popular and attracts numerous visitors. It is also gratifying that Kusinagar, with its schools, colleges and libraries, is fast developing into a great centre of learning.

5. ŚRĀVASTĪ

Śrāvastī has been identified with Sahet-Mahet, in the Gonda-Bahraich districts and is reached by a pacca motorable road from Balrampur station on the North-Eastern railway.[1]

Śrāvastī (Pali *Sāvatthī*) was the capital of ancient Kosala. According to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[2] it was founded by Śra-

[1] From Balrampur, Sahet is about 10 miles. Its distance from Bahraich is 29 miles.

[2] II, 4.

vasta, a king of the Solar race. Rāma, the king of Ayodhyā made his son Lava, the ruler of Śrāvastī.

In the Buddhist and Jaina literature numerous references are found to this town. In the Pāli texts the nomenclature Sāvatthī has been thus explained "*Sabbamettha atthīti Sāvatthī*," i.e., the town where each and every article is available is called Sāvatthī.[1] 'Sahet' is the corrupt form of Śrāvastī.

During the time of Buddha, Kosala was one of the sixteen great kingdoms (*Mahājanapadas*) of northern India and Śrāvastī was counted among the six big towns, the five others being Campā, Rājagṛha, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī and Vārāṇasī. Śrāvastī was famous for its rich merchants, who possessed fabulous wealth. A number of big and small industries were flourishing in the town. Being situated on the main trade routes, Śrāvastī had become a large centre of imports and exports.

King Prasenajit (Pasenadi) of Kosala was the contemporary of Buddha. His name is mentioned, time and again, in the Buddhist literature. When Buddha was staying at Rājagṛha, king Prasenajit went to him to pay his homage. Buddha preached to him the 'Kumāra dṛṣṭānta sūtra.'

In the Buddhist works we read about the interesting story of prince Jeta, the son of Prasenajit. At that time a very rich merchant (*Mahāseṭṭhi*) Sudatta, also called Anātha-

[1] Cf. *Papañchasūdanī* (I, p. 59), where a similar explanation for the name occurs—"*Yam kiñcha manussānam upabhogaparibhogam sabbam ettha atthīti Sāvatthī. Sattha Samāyoge cha 'kiṃ bhaṇḍaṃ atthīti' pucchite sabbaṃ atthīti vachanamupādāya Sāvatthī.*"

piṇḍika, was living in Śrāvastī. He had become a Buddhist. It was his ardent desire to construct near Śrāvastī a unique resorting place for Buddha. He selected the garden owned by prince Jeta as the best place for this. The garden (Jetavana) was about a mile to the south of the town. Sudatta made a request to the prince for the land. The prince, however, agreed to sell his garden on the condition that the merchant should cover the required land with gold coins. Sudatta was prepared for this. Gold coins were soon brought on bullock carts and were spread on the ground. The garden thus cost the purchaser eighteen crores of rupees. When the prince came to know about the sacred cause for which this land was purchased, he donated the whole amount of 18 crores, and also the money obtained as sale proceeds of trees, to the Buddhist establishment and built a palatial building on the premises of the garden.

Sudatta constructed a big monastery called *Jetavana-vihāra*, which was completed under the supervision of Śāriputta, the venerable disciple of Buddha. This Vihāra was duly presented to Buddha, who resided in the *Gandha-kuṭī* of the vihāra. The names of other *kuṭīs* were *Kareri kuṭī*, *Kosamba kuṭī*, *Candanamālā* and *Salalaghara*, the last being made by king Prasenajit. The other buildings were constructed by Sudatta.

Buddha so much liked the Jetavana that he spent here no less than 25 Varṣās preaching to Bhikkhus, laymen and women. Several *sūtras* and 416 of the Jātaka stories were told by Buddha while residing here. The *Jetavana vihāra* attracted people in large numbers from far and near.

Several hundreds of Buddhist monks were living in this monastery.

The other two important *vihāras* were *Pūrvārāma* (*Pubbārāma*) and *Rājakārāma*. The first was built by Viśākhā, the rich lady disciple of Buddha. This monastery was double-storeyed and had several big rooms, costly adorned. It was built under the supervision of Moggalāyana. The other monastery called Rājakārāma was constructed under the orders of king Prasenajit for the residence of Buddhist nuns. Sumanā, the king's sister, was the leader of these *Bhikkhunīs*.

There was another place at Śrāvastī called 'Mallikārāma,' which was probably donated by Mallikā, the chief queen of Prasenajit.

Devadatta, the cousin brother of Buddha, made several attempts on Buddha's life, when the latter was residing at Śrāvastī. But Devadatta failed in his attempts and eventually died here.

Viḍūḍabha, son of Prasenajit, was also anti-Buddha. His mother was the daughter of a maid-servant of Śākya Mahānāman. Viḍūḍabha was so much enimical to the Śākyas that he orderd their massacre *en mass*.

After the death of Buddha, his disciples, Ānanda, Kumāra, Kāśyapa and others, continued Buddha's mission in Śrāvastī and other places of Kosala. During the time of Aśoka, Jetavana had become famous for its sanctity. Aśoka made a religious tour of several sacred places including *Jetavana*. Here he worshipped the four *Stūpas* which had been built in honour of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahā-Kāśyapa and Ānanda respectively.

From the Buddhist work *Mahāvaṃśa*, we learn that during the reign of Duṭṭhagāminī, the king of Ceylon, a party of one thousand Buddhist monks, under the leadership of Mahāthera Piyadassi, visited Ceylon.

In the stone railings of Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā several carved slabs depict the main events of Buddha's life. The event of the purchase of Jetavana by Sudatta is specially interesting. On a stone slab we see the coins being spread on the ground. Cart-loads of coins are also seen nearby. A man holding *Kamaṇḍalu* is standing and the people are looking at in great amazement. Other stone pieces exhibit the worship of Buddha's sacred symbols, Prasenajit's visit to Buddha and the like events.

During the Kushāṇa period, Śrāvastī was a growing town of northern India. A colossal Bodhisattva statue was discovered here by Cunningham. It was donated by the Buddhist monk Bala and was carved by an artist of Mathura. From the Brāhmī inscription incised on this statue, we know that the *Sarvāstivādins* had become predominant at Jetavana in the first century A.D. This, to some extent, was the case with Saranath and Mathura also, where Bodhisattva images donated by the same monk Bala have been found.

After the Kushāṇa period, began the decline of Śrāvastī. When Fa-hian visited Śrāvastī in early 5th century A.D., he found that there were only 200 families living. New Hindu temples had been built on the sites of old *vihāras*. The town, once so prosperous, now gave a deserted appearance. To the south of the town was the *Jetavana vihāra*, which drew the attention of this pilgrim.

He says that this vihāra was still an important centre. There were several ponds of clear water and in the garden were growing flowers of various hues. He has also written that the seven-storied building of Jetavana was destroyed due to sudden fire. He has mentioned the famous sandal image of Buddha, which was still seen in Śrāvastī. The other monasteries, besides Jetavana, were almost totally deserted. There was nobody living in the *Pūrvārāma* (*Pubbārāma*) *vihāra* built by Viśākhā.

In the 7th century A.D., when Hiuen-tsang came to Śrāvastī he found that the town had lost its past glory. The city-wall was about 20 *li* (3 miles) in circuit. The number of residents had been diminished. Although there were several Buddhist *Saṅghārāmas*, very few people were living in them. The number of Hindu temples was about 100, with a large number of followers. Hiuen-tsang has referred to the dilapidated monuments of Śrāvastī. These included several *stūpas*, *vihāras* and a portion of the palace of king Prasenajit. He has also described the Jetavana monastery, which was a mile to the south of the town. Near the eastern entrance stood two Aśokan columns, each 75 ft. high. The western pillar was surmounted by a *cakra* and the eastern one by the figure of a bull. Hiuen-tsang has also described several damaged *stūpas*. About half a mile north-west of *Jetavana* was a forest called *Andhavana*, where several votive *stūpas* and inscriptions were seen.

Some epigraphs of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. have been discovered at Śrāvastī, showing that Jetavana was still a Buddhist centre. The monks continued to

live here till the 12th cent. A.D. under the patronage of the Kanauj emperors.

Thus we find that from the Buddha's time right upto 1200 A.D. Śrāvastī was famous as a great Buddhist centre of northern India. After the 12th century, we get no definite account of Śrāvastī. It appears that the Buddhist monks soon left *Jetavana* due to adverse political circumstances and this place was totally deserted.

During the last century attention of several western scholars was diverted to Śrāvastī. In the year 1863 General Cunningham excavated some mounds of Sahet and Mahet. He identified this site with the ancient Śrāvastī. In course of digging at Sahet he found the colossal Bodhisattva statue donated by Bhikshu Bala. The spot where it was found was identified by Cunningham with the site of *Kosamba-kuṭī*. In the year 1876 he resumed excavations and obtained the remains of no less than 16 *stūpas* and other ancient buildings. He identified the building north of *Kosamba kuṭī* with *Gandha-kuṭī*, which was hallowed by the constant stay of Lord Buddha.[1]

In the year 1875-76 Dr. Hoey conducted excavations at Mahet with the financial aid of the Balrampur State. The site yielded several statues of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, besides other remains. Śrāvastī was a great Jaina centre during the medieval period. Dr. Hoey continued the work during 1884-85 also and brought to light remains of no less than 34 ancient buildings. The antiquities discovered here, including inscriptions, statues, clay seals

ningham, *A. S. R.*, Vo I, pp. 330 ff; Vol. XI, pp. 78 ff.

and coins, were transferred to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.[1]

The Archaeological Department of the Government of India conducted excavations at Sahet-Mahet during 1907-8 and 1910-11. From the site of Mahet more than 300 terracotta figurines of the Gupta period were obtained. On some of these are carved interesting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*.[2]

The modern Sahet-Mahet has become a great pilgrim-centre. Necessary arrangements have been made by the Central and State Governments for visitors, who are expected to come to Śrāvastī in large numbers on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of Lord Buddha. The road from Balarampur to Sahet has been tarred and extended upto Mahet. A tube-well has also been constructed for the visitors. The waiting room at Balarampur railway station has been made more commodious. There is already a Jaina Dharmaśālā in Śrāvastī. The U. P. Government has also made suitable arrangements for lodging of visitors at the site.

[1] W. Hoey, *Set Mahet, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 61, part i (1892), pp. 1-64.

[2] For a detailed account of these excavations see *A. S. I.*, *A.* R., 1907-08, pp. 81 ff ; 1910-11, pp. 1 ff.

CHAPTER XVI

BUDDHIST ART

THE history of Buddhist art really commences from the time of Aśoka, the Maurya emperor. Through the efforts of Aśoka, Buddhism became a popular religion of India. He utilized all suitable means for the propagation of Buddhism, and art and architecture were no exceptions.

The Aśokan pillars are permanent monuments of perfect beauty. In Uttar Pradesh these pillars have been found, in complete or broken form, at Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī, Allahabad and Sankissā. Two such pillars are also in the Nepal territory, one at Lumbinī and the other at Niglivā. All these are made of the Chunar sandstone, which was so much liked by Aśoka. The pillars are in two parts—the lower shaft or column and the upper capital. Both of them bear a fine polish on their surface.[1]

The lower columns are round tapering shafts, weighing about fifty tons and having an average height of 40 to 50 feet. The upper capital consists of five component parts—

[1] This unique Aśokan polish is not found in the latter art. It misled some scholars, who thought that the pillars were metallic. According to another view it is *vajralepa*, a high powered chemical But more probably this peculiar softness is due to extensive rubbing of the stone. Cf. Rai Krishna Dasa, *Bhāratīya Mūrtikalā* (Banaras, Saṁvat 1996), p. 24. The contention that the idea of this polish was imported from Persia or Greece does not seem plausible.

(1) Single or double-headed line, which is just above the shaft, (2) the bell-shaped lotus, (3) the necking, (4) the round or square abacus adorned with figures and (5) one or more animals above the abacus. All these components are tastefully done. Of special interest are the animal figures. The capitals at Allahabad and Rāmpurvā bear the figures of a bull, while the one at Sankissā has an elephant having its trunk broken. The pillar at Lumbinī is said to have been surmounted by the figure of a horse.

The Sarnath capital is the most perfect and artistic. On its abacus are carved, in bold relief, the figures of a lion, a bull, a horse and an elephant.[1] Over the abacus are seen four half figures of stately lions. They once supported the Wheel of Law (*Dharma cakra*), parts of which have been discovered at Sarnath.[2] The treatment of the animal figures is remarkably naturalistic, exquisite and bold. Every minute detail has been well-attended to. The eyes of the four lion figures of the Sarnath capital were formerly beset with precious stones, which are now lost. The Sarnath Lion-Capital, undoubtedly, represents the best that is in Indian art.[3] The Mauryan plastic art ranks high for its simplicity, naturalism and majestic grace.

[1] These four animals are associated with Buddha. They also probably symbolize the Four Quarters (*Caturdik*), to which the Buddhist Community (*Saṅgha*) belonged. On the abacus the four animals are seperated from each other by wheels (*Cakras*).

[2] The diameter of this wheel was 2′ 9″.

[3] On the imitation of this capital similar capitals were prepared at Mathura, Sanchi and other places. But artistically they are much inferior to the Aśokan capital.

The question of Persian or Hellenistic influence on the Mauryan art has been much discussed. Here it is not possible to go into details. It is no doubt true that there are a number of decorative motifs[1] in the Mauryan and later art, which are also found in the art of Sumer, Assyria, Persia and Greece. Most of the western writers on Indian art ascribed these motifs purely to Persian or Hellenistic influences. Dr. Coomaraswamy has dealt with this topic in some detail[2] and has arrived at the conclusion that India was not an isolated country; it had very old trade relations with the countries of Western Asia and Europe. It was, therefore, but natural that the ancient art was "the common inheritance of Europe and Asia alike, and its various forms, as they occur in India or elsewhere at various periods,......are to be regarded as cognates rather than as borrowings."[3]

WORSHIP OF SYMBOLS

From the time of Aśoka right up to the end of the 1st century B.C. we do not get any image of Buddha. His worship in the anthropomorphic form had not yet been evolved. Some symbols were, however, selected for the purpose. The chief symbols were *Dharma-cakra* (Wheel),

[1] e.g., Winged lions or bulls, centaurs, griffons, tritons, animals in various poses, the sun-car with horses, the bay wreath and mural crown, altar, the tree of life, rosette and petal-moulding, acanthus, reel and bead etc. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), p. 11 ff.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*, pp. 11-14 ; Cf. also Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture* (Calcutta, 1933), pp. 11-12.

[3] Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*, p. 14. Besides the Aśokan Sculptures, we have several colossal *Yakṣa* images from Mathura, Patna, Didarganj etc., which are purely indegenous.

Bodhi Tree, Stūpa, Uṣṇīṣa (turban) and the *Bhikṣā-pātra* (Begging-Bowl of Buddha). The teaching of the First Sermons by Buddha at Sarnath were indicated by means of a *Cakra* and the new *Dhamma* was embodied in the *Dhamma cakkappabbattana Sutta*. In the later plastic art of India also the *cakra* is prominent. A number of sculptures have been found in which Buddha is shown turning the Wheel of Law (*Dharmma cakra*). The sacred *peepul* tree at Bodhgayā, under which Buddha obtained the Supreme Knowledge, was called *Bodhi Vṛkṣa*. This tree also occurs as a sacred symbol in the early art. It is often shown enclosed within a railing (*vedikā*). The third main symbol was the *stūpa*. The body-relics of Buddha and his disciples were kept under the *stūpas* and therefore the *stūpa* became a symbol of worship. Similarly, the *Uṣṇīsha* (turban) and *Pātra* (bowl) of Buddha were also worshipped.

In a number of early sculptures at Sanchi, Bharhut and Bodhgaya we find the worship of the above symbols. In the two important Buddhist art-centres of Uttar Pradesh, viz., Sarnath and Mathura, we find several sculptures of the pre-Kushāṇa date bearing the sacred symbols. The image of Buddha is conspicuous by its absence till the beginning of the first century A.D. The obvious reason for the absence of the image is that during Aśoka's time and afterwards the *Theravādins* were predominant in Uttar Pradesh. They did not believe in the image-worship and instead paid their homage to various symbols or monuments. They had a number of their branches—*Vibhajyavādins, Sarvāstivādins* etc.—spread all over northern India. There was another school viz., of the *Mahāsamghikas*(Mahāyānists),

who held the opposite view. According to these latter, the anthropomorphic form of Buddha was essential. In the beginning they had a limited number of followers and were not powerful enough to assert themselves. It, therefore, took some time before they could succeed over their antagonists. An inscribed capital[1] of a pillar has been discovered at Mathura. From the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions on it we know that during the time of the Śaka Kshatrapas Rājuvula and his son Śoḍāsa (1st century B.C.), the Sarvāstivādins were very powerful at Mathura. They often used to contest the *Mahāsaṅghikas*. Once the *Sarvāstivādins* had to call an eminent scholar from Nagara (in the Jalalabad dist. of Afghanistan) to give defeat to the *Mahāsaṅghikas* in a religious disputation.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE

The worship of Buddha in the human form could not be postponed for long. In the Śuṅga period, strong currents of devotion (*Bhakti*) had affected the life and thought of the people. Even some foreigners were becoming devotees of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods. The example of the Greek ambassador called Heliodorus is well known. During the reign of the Indo-Greek ruler Antialkides, Heliodorus, who calls himself a *Bhāgavata* (devotee of Viṣṇu), came to Vidiśā and erected there a *garuḍa-dhvaja* in honour of Viṣṇu. The images of the Hindu and Jaina gods[2] were

[1] This important capital is now in the British Museum, London. A plaster cast of it is exhibited in the Mathura Museum.

[2] An image of Balarāma belonging to the 2nd Century B.C. has been found in Mathura (now in Lucknow Museum, no. G. 215). The pre-Kushāṇa Jaina images are also known in the Mathura art.

made during the Śuṅga period. Buddhism also could not keep itself aloof from these religious currents. The Buddhists thought it imminent to present Buddha in the anthropomorphic form, for otherwise they could not make much headway to popularise their religion.

The reign of the Kushāṇa rulers proved very conducive to the growth of Buddhist art. Kaniṣka, the great Kushāṇa monarch (78-101 A.D.) was not only a staunch Buddhist but also a lover of art. The artists of Mathura found in him a great patron. Soon Mathura became a great centre of Buddhist religion and art and hundreds of statues related to different religions were carved here. From the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period found in Mathura and other places we know that during the reign of Kaniṣka and his successors numerous Buddhist *stūpas*, *caityas* and *vihāras* were constructed. Besides, several *puṇyaśālas*, *Pushkariṇīs* and wells were also donated by the ruling princes, officers and the public. The demand for Mathura art was so great that statues made here were exported to far-off places in India.[1]

BODHISATTVA AND BUDDHA

The early statues of Bodhisattva and Buddha belong to the beginning of the reign of Kaniṣka. They are usually colossal in size and are found in two postures—one standing and the other seated in the meditation attitude

[1] Statues of the Mathura School of art, mostly Buddhist, have been found in Takṣasila, Sanchi, Kausambi, Sravasti, Sarnath and several other places.

(*dhyāna mudrā*). Before the attainment of the Supreme Knowledge, Buddha was designated as Bodhisattva. The difference between these two is this : Bodhisattva is shown in the form of a prince wearing various ornaments, such as crown, torque and armlets. Buddha is without all these worldly signs and wears only the under and upper garments. The head of Buddha is embossed with the bump of hair (*jaṭājūṭa*) called *uṣṇīṣa,* which is indicative of his enlightenment. The Mahāyanists believe that the *Tathāgata* is born on this earth in the form of Bodhisattva for the good of the living beings. At the end of his life he attains Buddhahood, i.e., *nirvāṇa*. This idea of the Mahāyanists has much in common with the incarnation theory of the Bhāgavata cult. The Buddhists also believe that before Gautama, there had been several other Buddhas. This belief was current in the days of Aśoka and also after him. Aśoka repaired the *Stūpa* which had been built before him in honour of Kanakamuni Buddha. To indicate this he erected an inscribed pillar at Niglivā in the Nepal Terai. Kanakamuni had preceded Gautama as Buddha.

MATHURA SCHOOL

The Buddhist art of Mathura is of unusual interest. The Buddha and Bodhisattva statues of the early Kushāṇa period are colossal in size.[1] They are usually carved in the round, so that they can be seen from all the sides. This was a characteristic feature of the early statues of Mathura.

[1] No moustaches and beard are usually shown in the Mathura images, as is the case with the Gandhāra art.

The meditation attitude(*dhyāna mudrā*) of a *Yogī* is also found in many of these images.[1]

Now the question arises about the origin of the Buddha image. This has been a much discussed problem during the last many years. According to the one view the image of Buddha was first made in the Gandhāra art of the north-western India. The other view gives credit for this to the Mathura School. The supporters of the first view are Foucher, Vincent Smith, John Marshall, etc. These scholars are of the opinion that the Gandhāra style is essentially Hellenistic and is responsible for making a start in the statue of Buddha. They also think that the Mathura School of art is indebted to the Gandhāra art for borrowing the Buddha image and the new art technique.

The supporters of the second theory are Coomaraswamy, Havell, Jayaswal and several other scholars. In their opinion the subject matter and the essential elements of Indian art (which existed much before the Kushāṇas) were imported to Gandhāra during the Kushāṇa period. According to these scholars the formation of the early Buddha images in the Yogic form is purely Indian and there is nothing in it of foreign influence. The Mathura school of art was in existence before the rise of the Kushāṇas and it was growing contemporaneously with the indigenous art of Sanchi and Bharhut. The sculptures of the Śuṅga and early Kushāṇa periods at Mathura are more akin

[1] Several such statues are exhibited in the Mathura Museum. The colossal Bodhisattva images donated by Bhikṣu Bala, obtained at Sarnath and Śrāvasti, also indicate the same features.

to the archaic Yakṣa statues[1] and to the numerous remains found at Sanchi and Bharhut. This latter sytle of art is essentially different from the realistic style of Gandhāra. The statues of the Mathura Buddhas and Bodhisattvas posed in the *dhyāna mudrā* belong to that art tradition which we find in the Indian literature and art beginning from Mohenjodaro to the early Jaina images. Taking all these facts into consideration it cannot be accepted that the Mathura school of sculpture bears a stamp of the Gandhāra style. There are, no doubt, a few statues in the Mathura art closely allied to the Gandhāra images, but they can be taken as exceptions. The mutual assimilation between the two art-currents, flowing simultaneously, is but natural.

The heads of the Mathura Buddha statues of the Kushāṇa period are generally shaven. In the Gupta art curly hair with the *uṣṇīṣa* are shown. In the centre of the forehead is often seen a round mark called '*ūrṇā*.' It is sometimes in the form of a miniature pit, beset with precious jewel.[2]

POSTURES (*MUDRĀS*)

The Bodhisattva and Buddha statues often exhibit various attitudes or *mudrās* through the hands. In the Mathura school of art the followkng *mudrās* are found—

[1] The archaic Yakṣa statues in the Mathura art have been found from Parkham and other villages of the Mathura dist.(Cf. C. 1. in the Mathura Museum). There is a well-preserved Yakṣa image at Jhīngā-kā-Naglā in the Bharatpur dist. of Rajasthan.

[2] In the Mathura Museum are exhibited some well-preserved Buddha and Bodhisattva images (See nos. A. 1, A. 2, A. 40 and 2798) In the Museums at Lucknow, Sarnath, Allahabad and in the Indian Museum, Calcutta there are some rare Buddha and Bodhisattva images

1. *Dhyāna mudrā* (Meditation Attitude)--seated in the *Padmāsana,* having placed the right hand over the left.
2. *Abhaya mudrā* (Protection Attitude)–The right hand is raised up to the right shoulder and held in the form of bestowing protection.
3. *Bhūmisparśa mudrā* (Touching the Earth)—In this pose Buddha is seated in meditation and touches the earth with his right hand. This marks the event at Bodhgaya, where Buddha is believed to have invoked the Mother Earth as witness after his victory over Māra.
4. *Dharmachakra Pravartana mudrā* (Turning the Wheel of Law)—The fingers of the right hand are placed over those of the left hand indicating turning of a wheel.

Besides, there is a fifth *mudrā,* called the *Varada mudrā* (granting of a boon). In this posture the right hand of Buddha hangs in such a way as if he were granting a boon. This *mudrā* is not found in the Mathura art.

EVENTS OF BUDDHA'S LIFE

The main events of Buddha's life are found carved in the Mathura sculptures. These are —His Birth at Lumbinī, Enlightenment at Bodhgaya, Turning of the Wheel at Sarnath and the Death (*mahāparinirvāṇa*) at Kuśīnagar.

of the Mathura style. Recently two Buddha statues of very fine workmanship of the Mathura School have been found at Ahicchatra. One of these bears a Brāhmī inscription.

Besides these four, we also get the representations of the following events—Bathing of the child by the Nāgas, Indra's homage to Buddha in the Indraśilā cave, Descent of Buddha from heaven, offering of the begging bowls to Buddha by the Lokapālas.

THE JĀTAKA STORIES

The previous birth-stories of Buddha are called *Jātakas*.[1] In the Mathura art the *Jātaka* stories depicted are—*Kacchapa Jātaka, Ulūka Jātaka, Vyāghrī Jātaka, Vessantara Jātaka, Romaka Jātaka, Sutasoma Jātaka*, etc. These interesting stories were the favourite subjects with the Mathura artists.

RAILING PILLARS (*VEDIKĀ-STAṀBHA*)

The railing pillars of Mathura occupy a unique place in the Buddhist art of Mathura. They are important for the study of various phases of the social life in the Kushāṇa period. Most of these pillars depict women in joyful moods. The women wear a number of ornaments. Some of them are shown in the posture of *Śālabhañjikās* (breaking the tree), holding branch of tree and placing one of their feet at the stem of the tree (cf. M. M. No. 2325). On one pillar a woman is playing with the ball (No. J. 61), on another she is plucking flowers from a tree. The scenes of bath (J. 4, 1509), music (J. 62), toilet and drink (*madhupāna*) are also carved on several pillars. Some of them contain *Jātaka* stories (J. 4) and others stories from the *Mahābhārata* (No. 151) etc.

[1] According to the Buddhist tradition most of these stories were narrated by Buddha when he was staying at Jetavana in Śrāvastī.

Some of the pillars exhibit Buddha and Bodhisattva or the worshippers. Besides these, we find the depiction of birds, animals, floral and creeper designs in the most naturalistic and tasteful manner. These railing pillars represent the beauty and delight of the universe, and, like mirrors, reflect the joyous life of the days gone-bye.

YAKṢAS, KINNARAS, GANDHARVAS, ETC.

In the Mathura art we often meet with the *Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Suparṇas* and *Apsarās* engaged in various delicate acts, like music, dance and drinking. The number of Yakṣa images[1] is pretty large. Most notable among these is the colossal Yakṣa image from village Parkham (No. C. 1 of M. M.). This is probably the image of Māṇibhadra Yakṣa. A similar colossal image has been acquired from the village Baroda of the Mathura district. Both of them, like several others, are carved in the round.

Kubera, the lord of the Yakṣas, and his wife Hārīti enjoy superior position among the *Yakṣas*. Kubera is also the lord of wealth, happiness and prosperity. He was worshipped as such by all people, whether Hindus, Buddhists or Jainas. In the Buddhist literature Kubera figures as Jambhāla. He holds mongoose or a purse and a cup of wine. Sometimes he is also shown holding a lemon

[1] Mathura was a great centre of Yakṣa-worship before and during the time of Buddha. We read about the Gardabha and other *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs* of Mathura in the Buddhist literature. See N. Dutt, *Gilgit Mauscripts*, vol. III, part I, pp. 3—17.

fruit (probably *bījapūraka*).[1] Hārīti is shown either with Kubera or separately. She is the presiding goddess of the child-birth and is generally depicted with one or more children in her lap.

The figures of other *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs* are also found in the Mathura art. The *Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Suparṇas, Vidyādharas* and *Apsarās* are generally associated with divine figures. Sometimes they are shown by way of ornamentation. The *Kinnaras* (centaurs) are shown half human-being and half horse. The horse in this case is probably indicative of swiftness and strength. The *Gandharvas* are regarded as experts in music and the *Apsarās* in dance. The *Suparṇas* are shown with wings. The *Vidyādharas* are generally shown in couples, showering flowers.

NĀGA IMAGES

Like the Yakṣa-worship the worship of Nāgas (serpents) was also fairly popular in ancient Mathura. They were regarded as very powerful creatures having their abode in waters. Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, is regarded as the incarnation of Śeṣanāga.[2] Vishṇu's couch is also said to have been made of the serpents. The emblems of the two Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, Pārśvanātha

[1] Cf. the recently discovered inscribed image of Kubera in the Mathura Museum (no. 3232). The other important images of Kubera in the Mathura art are nos. C.2, C.5 and C.31.

[2] A good number of images of Balarāma showing him as the incarnation of Śeṣanāga are known in the Mathura art. He is shown wearing a number of ornaments and holding *muśala* and cup of wine. See M. M. no. 1399, 3210, C.19 and 435.

and Supārśva, are also snakes. According to the Buddhist tradition the Nāga Muculinda spread its hoods over Buddha to give him protection. The two Nāgas, Nanda and Upananda, gave to the child Gautama the first bath. The Nāgas are also credited with having protected the Stūpa at Rāmagrāma.[1]

The worship of Nāgas was prevalent both in the snake form and the human form. The most remarkable Nāga statue in the Mathura art is the one obtained from vill. *Chargaon*.[2] This life size image(ht.7¾ feet)stands in a spirited attitude with the right hand raised above. The head is surmounted by seven hoods. The coils are indicated by lines cut on the back of the stone. According to the inscription on the back, this image was set up in the year 40 of king Huviṣka. The statues of Bhūmināga (No. 211) and Dadhikarṇa Nāga (No. 1610) are also exhibited in the Mathura Museum. There was a temple of this Dadhikarṇa Nāga in Mathura.

STATUES OF THE ŚAKA-KUSHĀNA EMPERORS

Mathura has also yielded several unique statues of the Śaka-Kushāṇa rulers. The Kushāṇas had their *devakula* (royal hall) at Mānt, about 8 miles north of Mathura.[3] From Mānt have been obtained the inscribed statues of Wima Kadaphises (No. 215), Kaniṣka (No. 213) and Caṣṭana (No. 212). All these are clad in their typical

[1] Cf. Mathura Museum slab no. I. 9.

[2] No. C.13 of the Mathura Museum.

[3] There was probably another *devakula* of the Kushāṇas on the present site of Gokarṇeśvara near Mathura.

dress. On the statues of Wima and Kaniṣka, their names with royal titles are inscribed. Besides these three, several other statues of the Śaka princes have also been found at Mathura. A female statue made of the blue stone discovered at the *Saptarṣi Ṭīlā*, Mathura, has been identified with that of Kambojikā, the queen of Śaka-Kshattrapa Rājuvula, who is known to have built a Buddhist monastery called '*Guhā vihāra*' and a *stūpa* on the site of the *Saparṣi Ṭīlā*.

GUPTA ART

The Mathura art reached its climax in the Gupta period (300-600 A.D.). Some of the Buddha images made during this time are superb pieces of art. The plastic art of the age exhibits the artistic efflorescence in a measure unknown before. The beautiful form of limbs, the serene peace of mind, the infinite compassion and tenderness—all are combined in one in the Buddha statues of the period. The image donated by Bhikṣu Yaśadinna (No. A. 5 of the Mathura Museum) is one such statue. Another similar image is now exhibited in the National Museum of India. Both these rank among the finest pieces of Indian art. The delicate folds of the transparent garment are tastefully treated. There is an elaborate halo at the back. It is decorated with concentric bands of graceful ornaments, festoons and foliage.

Near the reputed birth-place of Lord Kṛṣṇa in Mathura, there was a Buddhist monastery called '*Yaśa vihāra*. An inscribed Buddha image,[1] in a very good state

[1] Now exhibited in the State Museum, Lucknow.

of preservation, was found here. From the inscription on the image, we know that this image was donated by a lady called Jayabhaṭṭā.

The Gupta images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas have been acquired from Jamalpur, Jayasinghpura, Katra Keshavadeva, Caubara and other mounds in Mathura. A number of Buddhist monasteries existed on these sites till the end of the Gupta period. Fa-hian has referred to 20 *Saṅghārāmas* in Mathura built on both the banks of Yamunā. About 3,000 *Bhikkhus* were living in these *vihāras*. In the time of Hiuen-tsang the same number of *vihāras* existed, although the number of monks had been reduced to 2,000.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Mathura suffered a good deal due to the Hūṇa invasions in the 6th century A.D. Many ancient buildings were raised to the ground and the statues broken. These invasions proved fatal to Buddhism in Mathura. The Buddhist sculptures subsequent to 600 A.D. are rarely known from Mathura. The few pieces that have been found are devoid of any art. The beauty and originality of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods are no longer seen in the Medieval art of Mathura. The rise of the Paurāṇic Hindu religion was also responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism from Mathura. The invasion of Mahmud of Ghazani in 1017 A.D. seems to have completely wiped out the Buddhist religion from Mathura. The monasteris became deserted and the monks left for places of safety.

SARNATH

The second great centre of Buddhist art is Sarnath.[1] From the time of Aśoka right up to 1200 A.D. art flourished here in various forms. The artists of Sarnath selected the Chunar sandstone[2] for the sculptures. The same stone had been used in Aśokan pillars.

Several buildings were constructed at Sarnath in the Śuṅga and Kushāṇa periods. Their remains have been found in the form of railings, etc. On the Śuṅga railings we notice the worship of the Buddhist symbols. The *Stūpa, Dharma cakra, Triratna, pūrṇaghaṭa* (full vase), lotus and other decorative designs, found on the Śuṅga railings, have been very finely carved out. A Yakṣa image of the Śuṅga period (No. D. H. 5) has also been found. Some heads, bearing the Mauryan polish, are of special interest. Among these a shaven head (No. B. 1), a foreigner's head with prominent moustache (No. W. 4) and two Śuṅga female heads (No. 221 and 229) are remarkable. Another sculpture showing a female in grief is also worth notice. The coiffure and the clothes in the last figure have been very finely done. On a capital of the Śuṅga period we find a horse-rider gallopping through the stalked lotuses.

On the obverse of the same piece are shown two male figures on the back of an elephant, one of them holding a

[1] For a description of the monuments at Sarnath see Chapters XV and XVII.

[2] It differs from the spotted red sandstone of Mathura found at Rupbas, Bayana and other places.

banner. In the Śuṅga art of Sarnath we find the same flatness and round form of the face as are met with in the contemporary art of Sanchi, Bharhut and Mathura. A few pieces of Toraṇa (lintels) have also been obtained here, bearing *dharmacakra*, *triratna*, elephant and other decorations.

KUSHĀṆA AND GUPTA IMAGES

The excavations at Sarnath brought to light an inscribed image of Bodhisattva of colossal size. According to the Brāhmī inscription incised on the shaft of the *Chatra* of the image, it was donated by a Buddhist Bhikṣu called Bala in the 3rd year of Kaniṣka's reign (=81 A.D.). This inscription is in the mixed language of Sanskrit and Prākrit and reads thus :—

1. Mahārājasya Kāṇiṣkasya Saṁ 3 he 3 di 22
2. etaye pūrvaye Bhikṣusya Puṣyabuddhyasya saddhye vi-
3. hārisya Bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya
4. Bodhisattvo Chatrayaṣṭi ca pratiṣṭhāpito
5. Vārāṇasīye Bhagavato Caṅkame-sahāmātā
6. Pitehi Sahā upādhyāyā Cerehi Saddhyevihāri–
7. hi aṅtevāsikehi ca sahā Buddhamitraye trepiṭika–
8. ye sahā kṣatrapena vanasparena kharapallā–
9. nena ca sahā ca ca [tu] hi pariśāhi Sarvva sattvānaṁ
10. hitasukhārattha(rttha) ṃ.

i.e., "in the 3rd year of king Kaniṣka, in the third month, on the 22nd day, the monk Bala, versed in the three *Piṭakas* disciple of Puṣyabuddhi, set up an image of Bodhi-

sattva, along with the parasol and the shaft in Vārāṇsī at the place where the Lord used to walk,—for the welfare and happiness of his parents, his teacher, disciple, for Buddhamittra, versed in the three piṭakas, for kshatrapas Vanaspara and kharapallāna, for the Bhikṣus (monks) of all the directions, the Bhikṣuṇīs (nuns), the lay men and women and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings."

This image is important in several ways. From the fact of its being discovered at Sarnath it is clear that such large-size Bodhisattva images of Mathura were sent to far-off places. The dated inscription further informs us that the kshatrapas, Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, were appointed by Kaniṣka as the governors of Banaras. The contribution of the Buddhist monks towards diffusion of the Dhamma was commendable. The monk Bala, who erected this image, is also responsible for donating similar images at Mathura and Śrāvastī. In the inscription, the term 'Bodhisattva' instead of 'Buddha', has been used for the image, although it does not wear any royal costumes. In the inscriptions of images of Bala, referred to above, and also in several other inscriptions on the pedestals of images found at Mathura, the same word 'Bodhisattva' has been used. It, therefore, appears that in the beginning the distinction between the two names was not strictly adhered to.

The sculptors of Sarnath carved out several images similar to the one donated by Bala.[1] An image of the trans-

[1] No. B(a)-2 and B(a)-3 in the Sarnath Museum are of the same style and are noteworthy statues of the Kushāṇa period.

itional period between the Kushāṇa and Gupta age has also been obtained.[1] Here Buddha is shown in the protection attitude. He has curly hair and *uṣṇīsha* (turban) and on the back of the head is a round halo.

Like Mathura, Sarnath also witnessed great artistic progress during the Gupta age. Both the outer grace and the spiritual serenity are now combined in the statue of Buddha. The image of Buddha seated in *Padmāsana*, and turning the Wheel of Law(No. B(b) 181) is decidedly among the few first-rate products of Indian art. The eyes of the Enlightened Buddha are half closed (*ardhon-mīlita*). There is compassion and sublimity all around. This is the perfect image of the Master. On the pedestal are shown the Bhikkhus, whom Buddha gave the First Sermons at Sarnath. There are two other figures—one of a lady (probably the donor) and the other of a child. In the centre is shown the worship of *Dharmacakra*.

Several other statues of the Gupta period have been found at Sarnath, in which Buddha is shown in various postures. In the post-Gupta and the medieval periods a number of Buddhist deities of the mahāyāna pantheon cropped up. We find among them Maitreya (B (d) 2), Loka-nātha (B (d)-1), Siddhaikavīra (B (d)-6), Nīlakaṇṭha (B (d)-3), Tārā (B(f)-1) and Mārīchī (B (f)-23). The pedestals of some of these images bear inscriptions.

[1] Sarnath Museum no. B(b)-1.

EVENTS OF BUDDHA'S LIFE AND THE JĀTAKA STORIES

Several slabs from Sarnath depict the main four events of Buddha's life. Besides, some minor events are also portrayed, e.g., Descent from the *Trayastriṃśa* heaven, miracle of Śrāvastī, Subduing of the Nālāgiri elephant and Gift of the monkey (vānarendra).

Some of the Jātaka stories are also engraved. On a lintel No. D (d)-1 we find the story of the Kṣāntivādī Jātaka, according to which Buddha in one of his previous lives was born as a sage called 'Kṣāntivādī.' He converted the queens of the king of Banaras into *Bhikkhuṇīs*. As a punishment for this he got his right arm cut off by the king. Similarly we find the story of the *Vyāghrī Jātaka* and several other Jātakas carved on stone.

LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The Late medieval period saw the rise of the *Vajrayāna* school at Sarnath and several other places in the east. This is borne out not only by the literary evidence but also by the art-objects of the period. The images of the deities like Mañjuvara, Heruka, Vajraghaṇṭa, Mārichī (also called vajravarāhī), Sarasvatī, Vasudhārā, Chuṇḍā and several others have been found at Sarnath. The iconography of the period exhibits a growing tendency to represent various Bodhisattvas and other divinities with several heads and arms. This development of polytheism and complex iconolatry in Buddhism was very much akin to the late Paurāṇic religion of the Hindus. The loosening of the rigid monastic life with the growth of the Vajrayāna

proved baneful to Buddhism. Combined with other reasons, both religious and political, it hastened the disappearance of Buddhism, as a living religious force, from Sarnath and other centres in India.

BUDDHIST ART IN OTHER PLACES

Other important places in Uttar Pradesh, which have yielded Buddhist sculptures, are Śrāvastī, Sankissā, Kauśāmbī, Kasiā (Kuśīnagar), Ahicchatrā and Mahobā.

From Śrāvastī has been obtained the famous Bodhisattva image of the monk Bala. Besides, several other statues have come from this site. These are now exhibited in Indian Museum, Calcutta and the State Museum, Lucknow. Some of them bear Brāhmī Inscriptions.

Sankissā has yielded a crop of Buddhist finds. The most noteworthy among these is the capital of the Aśokan pillar, bearing the fine Mauryan polish. The decoration of the lotus flowers and *peepul* leaves on this capital is very artistic. There is the figure of an elephant above it. Close to this capital is a male figure (ht.3′-7″), which stylistically is similar to the Yakṣa statues of the Śuṅga period. A railing pillar and several mutilated Buddhist images have also been found here. Recently the head of a Buddha image of fine workmanship has also been obtained. Other antiquities include terracottas, clay sealings and coins.

Kauśāmbī is also counted among the centres of Buddhism. During the time of Buddha three great monastries —*Ghoṣitārāma*, *Kukkuṭārāma* and *Pāvārika ambavana* are said to have been constructed here. A headless image of Buddha dated in year 2 of Kaniṣka's reign (= 80 A.D.)

was found here. This and some other Buddhist images from Kauśāmbī are now in the Allahabad Museum. The recent excavations conducted at Kauśāmbī have brought to light the remains of a monastery, probably the *Ghoṣitārāma*. An inscribed slab bearing this name has also been obtained. The other finds include several inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., Gupta and post-Gupta sculptures, terracottas, coins, beads and other minor antiquities. Several statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are superb. Some of these are made of the Chunar stone and others of the red sandstone.

At Kasia (Kuśinagar) several Buddhist sculptures have been discovered. The most striking 20 feet long image of Buddha in the *parinirvāṇa* temple has already been described. The other important image is the mutilated Buddha statue made of black stone. It is now called 'Māthā Kunwar.' On its pedestal is an inscription of the 11th century A.D. Some images of the Mathura art have also been found at Kasia.

Ahicchatrā[1] was the capital of the ancient Pañcāla kingdom. An image of Bodhisattva Maitreya was found here bearing an inscription of about 300 A.D.[2] Some years back an inscribed Yakṣa image was also obtained. The inscription (of the 2nd century A.D.) on it refers to a Buddhist monastery called '*Pharagula vihāra*,' which then existed at Ahicchatrā.[3] More recently two very artistic Buddha

[1] It is in the Aonla tahsil of the Bareilly district. From Aonla it is 10 miles to the north.

[2] This is now in the National Museum, New Delhi.

[3] K. D. Bajpai, 'A new inscribed image from Ahicchatrā,' *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society* (1950), pp. 112 ff.

images have been acquired from here, one of them bearing a Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd century A.D. Both of them are of the Mathura school of art and are made of the red sandstone.[1] On a slab from Ahicchatrā[2] the four main events of Buddhas' life have been portrayed very gracefully. Some other Buddhist finds of the Gupta period are also known from Ahicchatrā.

Mahoba,a town in the district Hamirpur of Bundelkhand, is also famous for its Buddhist art. The most remarkable discovery is that of an image of Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara. It is made of light grey coloured stone. The inscription on its pedestal is of the 11th century A.D. The Avalokitеśvara is seated on the lion in perfect calm and quiet attitude. From Mahoba and other places in Bundelakhand several Buddhist statues made of granite stone have been obtained. They usually bear black shining polish. The art of these statues is not of a superior order.

Other sites yielding Buddhist antiquities are Hastināpur, Wājidpur (dist. Kanpur), Mānkuwar (dist. Allahabad), Pakhnā vihāra (dist. Farrukhabad), etc. The inscribed clay sealings from Kasia have already been described. On these sealings we read the names of various *Saṅghārāmas*, *Bhikkṣusa mghas*,[3] officials and other persons. Such sealings have been found at Sarnath, Sankissā, Mathura and Pakhna vihāra also.

[1] These two images are now in the National Museum, New Delhi.

[2] Now in the State Museum, Lucknow.

[3] Cf. the interesting article of Dr. J. Ph. Vogal on this topic, Journal of the Ceylonese Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series), Vol. I, pp. 27-32.

CHAPTER XVII

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE

UTTAR Pradesh has been a fertile ground for the growth of various fine arts. From the Maurya period right up to the modern times, it has seen the development of architecture, sculpture, painting, literature and music. Due to the great importance of this region, a large number of *stūpas*, temples, *caityas* and *vihāras* were constructed here at different places. But the frequent invasions on the soil of this land have deprived it of its numerous monuments. Whatever now remains in the form of dilapidated structures, sculptures and other antiquities is a proof positive of the glorious achievements of the ancient people of *Madhyadeśa*.

The Buddhist architecture falls under three main heads —(1) *Stūpas*, (2) *Caitya* Halls and (3) Rock-cut Caves. In Uttar Pradesh a few remains of the first category have been survived. The *stūpas* were of two kinds—one in the form of massive structures[1] and the other the small votive *stūpas*.[2] Probably the idea of a *stūpa* was derived from the Vedic burial tumulus. The *stūpa* was in the shape of a solid dome (*aṇḍa*). It was usually raised on one or more

[1] Most of these contained relics of Buddha or his disciples. Some of them commemorated the sacred spots and the events of religious significance.

[2] Several votive *stūpas* have been found containing clay replicas representing miniature *stūpas*.

terraces and was surmounted by a railed pavilion (*harmikā*). From the latter rose the shaft of the crowning umbrella (*chatra*). There were one or more circumambulatory passages (*pradakshiṇā mārga*), which were usually enclosed by railings (*vedikā*). The earlier *stūpas* were mostly hemispherical in shape having a low base.[1]

Aśoka is credited with the construction of 84,000 *stūpas* over the relics of Buddha at different places of his vast empire. These relics are said to have originally been enshrined in 8 or 10 monuments. According to the tradition, Aśoka built the first two *stūpas* at Sanchi and Sarnath. The original Aśokan *stūpa* at Sanchi was a low brick-structure of almost half the diameter of the present *stūpa*, in the core of which it is now concealed.[2] The lower diameter of this *stūpa* is now 120 ft. and its height is 54 ft. Around this *stūpa* there are two circumambulatory passages. In the north-western part of India a number of huge *stūpas* were caused to be constructed by Aśoka. One of such *stūpas* was at Nagarhār between Kabul and Peshawar. It was 300 ft. in height. According to the Buddhist tradition the *Dharmarājikā stūpa* at Takṣaśilā is also ascribed to Aśoka.

The Chinese pilgrims have referred to numerous *stūpas* of Aśoka which they saw at various places in Uttar

[1] The early Jaina and Buddhist *Stūpas* were generally of this very shape. It appears that the Jaina *Stūpas* were started earlier than the Buddhist ones. cf. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa* (Allahabad 1901), pp. 1-11 plate 1.

[2] *Archaeology in India* (Delhi, 1950), p. 79.

Pradesh. Unfortunately, no complete example of the Aśokan *stūpa* is now available in this State. Only the basement of the *Dharmarājikā stūpa* built at Sarnath can be seen now. This must have been a magnificent brick-building having a 60 ft. diameter. From the south side of this *stūpa* has been obtained a monolithic inscribed railing, containing the Mauryan polish and bearing *Brāhmī* characters. It was formerly a railed pavilion forming part of the *Dharmarājikā stūpa*. Due to some mishap it was separated from the main building and was kept elsewhere.

The repairs of the *Dharmarājikā stūpa* continued for a pretty long time. Various alterations, beginning from the Kushāṇa period to the 12th century A.D., were carried on to this *stūpa*. In the year 1794 Jagat Singh of Banaras caused much harm to this important structure by removing the bricks forming its upper part.

The other *Stūpa* at Sarnath is *Dhamekha* (*Dharmekṣā*). Its total height is 143 feet. From its foundation to a height of 37 feet it is decorated with carved stones of the Gupta period, bearing decorative designs of animals, birds and creepers. Underneath this *stūpa*, is buried an earlier one. No body-relics have been recovered from the *Dhamekha Stūpa*.

Just like Dhamekha, there was a *stūpa* at Caukhaṇḍī also. That *stūpa* was probably built on an octagonal plinth. Its upper portion no longer exists. This place marks the spot where Buddha was first welcomed by the five *Bhikkhus* (*pañcabhaddavaggīya Bhikkhus*) including Kauṇḍinya. The present-day *caukhaṇḍī* is a brick-building of the Mughal

period. It is octagonal in shape and was built by Akbar to commemorate the visit of his father Humayun.[1]

Hiuen-tsang's description of the *Mūlagandhakuṭī* throws some light on the nature of construction of the Buddhist shrines of the Gupta period. This was a 60 ft. square building and contained rectangular cells or small rooms on its three sides. On the fourth side were the stairs to ascend.

THE PIPRĀWĀ STUPA

During the end of the last century, a very early *stūpa* was discovered by W. C. Peppe in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh.[2] This is the only *stūpa* which can be called pre-Aśokan. Mr. Peppe found here, among other relics, a vase bearing a *Brāhmī* inscription in the pre-Aśokan characters. A figure in gold relief, resembling the 'mother goddess' gold figure from Nandangarh[3], was also found.

There were a number of big *stūpas* at other Buddhist centres in U. P. The early *stūpas* in these places may have been similar in design to those at Sarnath and Sanchi. From the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā of Mathura an inscribed pedestal of a Jaina image has been found. The inscription refers to a Jaina *stūpa* called 'Vodva', which existed at the above site. We also get the design of a pre-Kushāṇa *stūpa* from a Jaina *Āyagapaṭṭa*[4] of Mathura. Such designs

[1] Humayun had probably taken shelter here after his defeat at the hands of Shershah Sur.

[2] W. C. Peppe and V. A. Smith, 'The Piprahwa Stupa, containing relics of Buddha.' *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 573 ff.

[3] *A. S. I, A. R.*, 1906-07, pp. 122 fig. 4.

[4] No. Q. 2 in the Archl. Museum, Mathura.

of early *stūpas* are also found on several Kushāṇa railing-pillars from Mathura. The railings of Mathura are very important for the study of the art technique and the social life of the Kushāṇa period. Some miniature stone *stūpas* have also been found at Mathura.

BUDDHIST MONASTERY

The number of Buddhist monasteries (*vihāras*) was fairly large in Uttar Pradesh. This is proved by the literary works, the accounts of the Chinese travellers and also by the archaeological remains. A Buddhist *vihāra* usually contained an open courtyard in the centre, enclosed by pillared verandas on the four sides. On the back were residential rooms for the *Bhikkhus*. The rooms were made big or small according to the accommodation. On one side, in the centre, was an entrance gate, in front of which used to be the temple. The main gate of the ancient *Mūlagandhakuṭī*-temple at Sarnath was facing to east. On the other three sides were small shrines. The walls of the main temple were strong and were decorated with beautiful paintings. In the extensive open courtyard were built several *caityas* and *stūpas*. The construction of the *Dharmacakrajina vihāra*, of the Gāhaḍvāla queen Kumāradevī, resembles to some extent the *Gopuram* style of the south. There are cells on the three sides of the open courtyard of this *vihāra*. Inside it there is a small tunnel, which opens in a cell.

There were a number of big *vihāras* at other places also. The *Jetavana* and *Pubbārāma* monasteries of Śrāvastī, the *Ghoṣitārāma*, *Kukkuṭārāma* etc. of Kauśāmbī and several

vihāras of Kuśīnagar, Mathura[1] and other places in U. P. must have been extensive establishments. This is attested not only by the literary references but also by the numerous remains. Unfortunately no intact example of these *vihāras* can now be seen anywhere in this State.

[1] From the inscriptions of Mathura we know about the following Buddhist monasteries which existed there—*Huviṣka vihāra*, *svarṇakāra vihāra*, *śrī vihāra*, *Cetin vihāra*, *Cuta ka vihāra*, *Āpānaka vihāra*, *Mihira vihāra*, *Guhā vihāra*, *Krauṣṭakīya vihāra*, *Roṣika vihāra*, *Kakātikā vihāra*, *Prāvārika vihāra*, *Yaśā vihāra* and *Khaṇda vihāra*.

CHAPTER XVIII

AŚOKA AND HIS DICTS

THE role of Aśoka in the history of India as a monarch and as the disseminator of Buddhism is unique. He ruled from B. C. 273 to 232. In the 9th year of his reign Aśoka had to wage a deadly war in Kaliṅga (modern Orissa). In this war one hundred thousand people were slain and many times more died. Besides, one hundred and fifty thousand were captured. The Kaliṅga country was thus ruthlessly pillaged and conquered. Aśoka was shocked to see all this ! He took a solemn vow not to conquer any part of the land in future by means of sword. He was ordained by the Buddhist monk Upagupta and was converted from Caṇḍāśoka (cruel Aśoka) into Dharmāśoka (religious-minded Aśoka).

In his rock edict XIII Aśoka speaks of the war atrocities in Kaliṅga, which smote his conscience and compelled him to take the firm resolve not to fight in future.

Aśoka's empire was an extensive one. It extended from the Hindukush in the north-west to Bengal in the east, and from the foot of the Himālayas in the north to the Citaldroog district in the South. Kaliṅga and Saurāṣṭra were also included in his vast empire.[1]

All possible efforts were made by Aśoka for the propagation of Buddhism, which he calls 'Dhamma.' In the

[1] R. S. Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, Banaras, 1942, p. 170-72.

Buddhist tradition he is credited with the construction of no less than 84,000 *stūpas* throughout India on the sacred relics of Buddha. Fa-hian, who saw some of the structures of the time of Aśoka, writes to say that the buildings were so attractive that they appeared to have been built by the *asuras*, and not by men. Hiuen-tsang and Sung-yun have also spoken highly of the *stūpas* built by Aśoka, which were seen by them in different parts of India throughout his far-flung empire.

Besides the *stūpas*, Aśoka set up huge stone pillars at important places. These are tapering shafts made of Chunar sandstone, each weighing about 50 tons, with an average height of 40 to 50 feet. Edicts were inscribed on these monoliths as also on rocks and caves.[1] These edicts are of great historical and religious importance.

Aśoka appointed special officers, called the '*Dharma mahāmātras*' for the propagation of *Dhaṁma* in the masses. They used to tour over their respective regions, telling people the right conduct. In one of the separate Kaliṅga edicts (of Dhaulī), Aśoka has thus ordained his mahāmātras—"You have indeed been set over many thousands of lives in order that you may certainly gain the affection of men. All people are my offspring. Just as for (my) offspring I desire that they be united with all welfare and

[1] So far about 200 inscriptions of Aśoka in all have been found at about 35 places in India. Only two of them bear the name of Aśoka—one is the Maski (Hyderabad) edict and the other the recently discovered minor rock edict at Gujarrā(11 miles from Datia in Vindhya Pradesh).

happiness of this world and of the next, precisely do I desire it for all men."[1]

This inscription shows how affectionate Aśoka was towards his people. He has expressed this in a very lucid way and has directed his officers to follow his example. In the second Kaliṅga edict (of Jaugarh), Aśoka says thus—

"......So acting accordingly, you must discharge your functions and must inspire them (i.e., people outside the domain of Aśoka) with confidence, so that they might understand this—"the king is to us even as a father ; he sympathises with us even as he sympathises with himself ; we are to the king even as (his) children." So having instructed you and intimated the will, my immovable resolve and vow, I shall become a sovereign over all countries."[2]

The religious tour (*dharmayātrā*) of Aśoka is equally significant. He paid visits to important religious places, such as Lumbinī, Kapilavastu, Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Kuśinagar and Śrāvastī. During these tours the emperor made religious gifts, erected monuments at sacred places and also had discourses with people.

Aśoka also organised at Pāṭaliputra the third Buddhist council in the 17th year of his coronation. The council met under the presidentship of Moggaliputta Tissa.[3] At the conclusion of the Council, Aśoka arranged to send evangelical missions to distant lands. These missions were

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka* (Third Ed.,) 1955, p. 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 328-29.

[3] According to the Northern texts, Upagupta presided over this Council. The first two Councils were held at Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī respectively.

sent under able leaders to Kashmir, Gandhāra, the Himālaya region, Suvarṇabhūmi (Burma), Mahārāṣṭra and to the Yavana country. Aśoka's own son, Mahendra, and daughter, Saṅghamitrā, went to Laṅkā (Ceylon).

Thus the efforts of the Maurya emperor and the zeal of the indefatigable missionaries were responsible for the propagation of the *Dhamma* of Tathāgata not only in this country, but also outside India. Today after over 2,200 years of Aśoka's death, about one-third population of the world is Buddhist. Cannot some credit for this be given to the great emperor and his missionaries ?

EDICTS OF AŚOKA

The edicts of Aśoka have been found at various places in India, engraved on rocks, stone-pillars or in caves. Some of the inscriptions are now lost. The remaining can be classified under three heads—(1) Rock Edicts, (2) Pillar Edicts and (3) Cave inscriptions.

Rock Edicts[1]—The chief rock edicts are 14 in number. They have been found at the following places—

1. *Shahbāzgarhī* (in the Yūsufzai sub-division of the Peshawar dist., about 40 miles N. E. of Peshawar).
2. *Mānsehrā* (in the Hazara dist. of West Pakistan, 15 miles north of Abbottabad).

[1] For the Chief and Minor Edicts see E. Hultzsch, *The Inscriptions of Asoka* (Oxford, 1925), Introduction, pp. 9-15 ; 23-28 ; Radhakumud Mookerji, *Asoka* (2nd Edition, Delhi, 1955), pp. 13-14 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka* (3rd Edition, Calcutta, 1955), pp. 231-240.

3. *Kālsī*—(in dist. Dehradun, U. P., on the western bank of the Yamunā, about 15 miles to the west of Mussoorie).
4. *Girnār* (Saurāṣtra).
5-6. *Dhaulī and Jaugarh* (Orissa).
7. *Sopārā* (in dist., Thana, Bombay).
8. *Yerraguḍi* (in dist., Karnul, Andhra).

In most of the places mentioned above, 14 or 13 edicts are found engraved. At Dhaulī and Jaugarh, in stead of edicts No. XII and XIII, local edicts are added.

Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been found at the following places—Siddhapur (Mysore), Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga Rāmeshwar (Mysore), Sahasrām (Bihar), Rūpanāth (Madhya Pradesh), Yerraguḍi (Andhra), Mandagiri (Andhra), Māskī (Hyderabad), Bairāṭ (Rajasthan) and Gujarrā (Vindhya Pradesh) Besides these ten places, a few minor rock edicts are known from some other places in the south.

Pillar Edicts[1]—There are seven major pillar edicts. These pillars are now preserved at Delhi, Allahabad, Lauriā, Mathiā and Rāmpurvā. The last mentioned three places are in the Champaran dist. of Bihar. There are two pillars at Delhi, both of them having been brought there by Firoz Shah Tughlaq,—one from Topra (near Ambala) and the other from Meerut. The Topra pillar contains all the seven edicts. The Meerut

[1] Hultzsch, *The Inscription of Aśoka*, Introduction, pp. 15-23 ; Mookerji, *Aśoka* p. 14, 169-200 ; Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 240-44 ; 298-322.

pillar was badly damaged during the reign of Farruksiar (1713-19 A.D.). The inscriptions on it are not quite clear. This pillar was re-erected in its present position in the year 1867. The three pillars in Bihar contain 6 edicts each. The Allahabad pillar was formerly set up at Kauśāmbī. It contains two minor edicts of Aśoka. One of these is addressed to the officials of Kauśāmbī. This pillar also contains the famous *praśasti* of Samudragupta and an inscription of Aśoka's queen Cāruvākī.

Among the minor pillar edicts, those at Sarnath, Lumbinī and Niglivā are more important. Two such pillar edicts have been found at Kauśāmbī and Sanchi also. It appears that during Aśoka's time some tendencies had cropped up to break up the Buddhist *saṅgha*. Sarnath and Kauśāmbī were especially infected by such tendencies. The edicts found at these two places confirm this. Aśoka gave a strict warning to such people who tried to tear asunder the *Saṅgha*. The reference to this is found in the pillar edicts of Sarnath, Kauśāmbī and Sanchi. Here we give the original Sarnath edict and its English translation.

SARNATH PILLAR EDICT[1]

Devā......el......Pāṭa (liputra) (nasaki) ye kenapi saṁghe bhetave e chuṁ kho bhikhū vā bhikhuni vā saṁghaṁ bh(ākha) t [i] s [e] odātāni dus[ān] i [sa] ṁnaṁdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi āvāsayiye hevaṁ iyaṁ sāsane bhikhu-

[1] Hultzsch, *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 161-164. Translation by R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka* p. 189-92. On the Sarnath pillar there are two other inscriptions—one of a king called Aśvaghosa and the other of the Ācāryas of the *Sammitīya* School.

saṁghasi cha bhikhuni saṁghasi cha viṁnapayitavehevaṁ Devānaṁpiye āhā hedisā cha ikā lipi tuphākaṁtikaṁ huvāti saṁsalanasi nikhitā ikaṁ cha lipiṁ hedisameva upāsakānaṁtikaṁ nikhipātha te pi cha upāsakā anuposathaṁ yāvu etaṁevasāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave anuposathaṁ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte posathāye yāti etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave ājānitave cha āvate cha tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu etena viyaṁjanena vivāsāpayāthā.

Translation—["Thus ordains] King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods : Pāṭa (liputra)......the *Saṁgha* cannot be torn asunder by any one whatsoever. Whoever, monk or nun, breaks up the *Saṁgha* must be made to wear white garments and to take up abode in a place other than a monastery. Thus should this order be made known in the Saṁghas of Bhikshus as well as of Bhikshuṇīs.

Thus directs the Beloved of the gods—Let one such Edict be with you, deposited in the cloister of the *vihāra* ; deposit ye another selfsame Edict with the *Upāsakas* (lay-worshippers).

Those *Upāsakas* may come on each fast day in order to acquaint themselves with this very Edict. And on every fast day regularly (will) each *Mahāmātra* go for the fast day service in order to acquaint himself with this Edict and understand it fully. As far as your jurisdiction extends, you are to get dispatched everywhere (an order) to this effect. In this manner, also, in all fortified towns, and districts, have this order sent out to this effect."

The Lumbinī pillar[1] is erected on the spot which is regarded as the birth-place of Buddha. During his visit to the religious places, Aśoka first went to Lumbinī. There Upagupta pointed out to him the sacred spot where Buddha was born. The *Plaksha* tree under which Māyādevi stood was also shown to the emperor. Aśoka made religious endowments here and ordered for fixing up of an inscribed stone pillar on the birth-spot.

The original inscription and its translation is given below—

LUMBINĪ PILLAR EDICT[2]

Devāna [pi]yena Piyadasina lāji na vīsati-vasābhisitena atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jate Sakyamunīti silā vigaḍabhī chā Kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite hida Bhagavaṁ jāte ti. Luṁmini-gāme ubalike Kaṭe. Aṭhabhāgiye cha.

Translation—"By King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, consecrated twenty years, coming in person, was worshipped (this spot), inasmuch as here was born the Buddha Śākyamuni. A stone bearing a figure was caused to be constructed and a pillar of stone was also set up, to show that the Blessed One was born here. The village *Luṁmini* was made free of religious cesses and also liable to pay only one-eighth share (of the produce)."

1 This pillar was first discovered by Dr. Fuhrer in 1896. In the previous year the same scholar discovered the pillar at Niglivā.

2 Hultzsch, *The Inscription of Asoka*, pp. 164-65 ; Mookerji, *Asoka* pp. 197-200.

CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

Aśoka's inscriptions have also been found in the caves of the Barābara and Nāgārjunī hills, 16 miles north of Gayā in Bihar. The secaves were donated to the Ājīvikas. Some of these cave inscriptions are of king Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka.

The language of the Aśokan edicts is Pāli There are a few local variations in the texts of these edicts. The language, on the whole, is chaste and simple. It appears that the drafts of these inscriptions were prepared by Aśoka himself.

Two scripts have been used. The inscriptions at Shahbāzgarhī and Mansehrā are written in the Kharoṣṭhī, which was then popular in the north-west of India. The rest of the inscriptions are in the Brāhmī script,[1] which was current throughout India except the north-west.

These inscriptions of Aśoka are of great importance. They throw a flood of light on the religious and social conditions of the time. They are like clean mirrors for the study of Aśoka's administration, his relations with the public and the propagation of Dhamma. They are the first epigraphical records on stone set up by an Indian emperor throughout the length and breadth of his empire.

[1] A few letters at the end of the Siddhapur inscription are also written in Kharoṣṭhī.

Now we give the original Pāli inscriptions of Aśoka as found on the Kalsi[1] rock along with their English Translation.[2]

The Kalsi rock was first discovered by Mr. Forrest in 1860.The inscription was then hardly visible, as the whole surface was encrusted with the 'dark moss of ages.' After cleaning the same it was found that the inscription was in a very good state of preservation.

On this rock all the 14 Edicts of Aśoka are incised. On the right side of the rock is the outline of an elephant figure, labelled 'Gajatame' (the best of the elephants).

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

Iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi Devānaṁpiyenā piyadasinā lekhitā. Hidā no kicchi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye. No pi chā samāje Kaṭaviye. Bahukā hi dosā samājasā devānaṁpiye Piyadasī lājā dakhati. Athi pi chā ekatiyā samājā sādhumatā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine. Pule mahānasasi Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine anudivasaṁ bahuni pāta-sahasāni alaṁbhiyisu supaṭhāye. Se idāni yadā

[1] Kalsi is in the Chakrata sub-division of the Dehradun district of U. P. The inscribed rock stands on the right bank of the Yamunā river. The rock is situated about a mile and a half of village Kalsi. The rock is 10 ft. long, 10 ft. high and about 8 ft. thick at the bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly. The upper inscribed portion is 5 ft. by 5½ ft. But the breadth of the lower inscribed portion is 7' 10½". The letters in the bottom, from the beginning of the tenth edict, are larger in size, some of them being thrice as large as those of the upper part. See D.R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p.233-34.

[2] Mainly based on D.R. Bhandarkar, R. K. Mookerji and Hultzsch.

iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi lekhitā tadā tiṁni yevā pānāni alabhiyaṁti duve majūlā eke mige se pichū mige no dhruve. Etāni pi chu tini pānāni no alābhiyisaṁti.

Translation—"This *Dhaṁma lipi* (rescript on morality) has been caused to be written by Devānāṁpirya (Beloved of the gods) Priyadarśin. Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed. And also no *Samāja* (festival meeting) must be held. For king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings. There are, however, some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin. Formerly in the kitchen of King Devānaṁpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for curry. But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three lives are being killed viz., two peacocks and one deer, but even this deer not regularly. Even these three shall not be killed in future."

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

Savatā vijitasi Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine ye cha aṁtā athā choḍā Paṁḍiyā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo Taṁbapaṁni Aṁtiyogenāma Yona-lājā ye chā aṁne tasā Aṁtiyogasā sāmaṁtā lājāno savatā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusachikisā chā pasuchikisā chā. Osadhīni manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā atatānathi savatā hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā. Evamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā atatā nathi savatā hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā. Magesulukhāni lopitāni udupānāni chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasumunisānaṁ.

Translation—"Everywhere in the dominions of the King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin and of those who are his borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Sātiyaputra, the Keralaputra, as far as the Tāmraparṇī, the yōna king named Antiyoga, (Antiochus) and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two kinds medical treatment were established by king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin, viz., medical treatment for men and medical treatment for animals. Wherever there were no herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted. Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted. On the roads trees were planted and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men."

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṁ āhā. Duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ ānapayite. Savatā vijitasi mama yutā lajūke pādesike paṁchasu paṁchasu vasesu anusaṁyānaṁ nikhamaṁtu etāye vā aṭhāye imāya dhammanusathiyā yathā aṁnāye pikammāye. Sādhu māta-pitisu sususā mita-saṁthuta-nātikyānaṁ chā baṁbhana-samanānaṁ chā sādhu dāne pānānaṁ anālaṁbhe sādhu apaviyātā apabhaṁdatā sādhu. Palisā pi cha yutāni gananasi anapayisaṁti hetuvatā chā viyaṁjanate chā.

Translation—"King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus—when I had been anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me. Everywhere in my dominions the

Yuktas, the Rājūkas and the Prādeśikas shall set out on a complete tour throughout their charges every five years for this very purpose, viz., for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business—"Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramanas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure and moderation in possessions are meritorious." And the councils of *Mahāmātras* also shall order the Yuktas to register these rules with reason and according to the object."

FORTH ROCK-EDICT

Atikaṁtam aṁtalaṁ bahuni vasa-satāni vadhitevā pānālaṁbhe vihisā chā bhutānaṁ nātinā asaṁpaṭipati samana baṁbhanānaṁ asaṁpaṭipati. Se ajā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhaṁma chalanenā bhelighose aho dhamma—ghose vimana—dasanā hathini agi-kaṁdhāni amnāni chā divyāni lupāni dasayitu janasa. Ādisā bahu hi vasa satehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vaḍhite Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhaṁmanusathiye anālaṁbhe pānānaṁ avihisa bhutānaṁ natinaṁ saṃpaṭipati baṁbhanāsamanānaṁ saṁpaṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā. Ese chā aṁne chā bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vadhite. Vadhiyisati chevā Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā imaṁ dhaṁma-chalanaṁ. Putā cha kaṁ natāle chā panātikyā chā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine pavaḍhayisaṁticheva dhaṁma-chalanaṁ imaṁ āva-Kapaṁ dhaṁmasi sīlasi chā chiṭhitu dhaṁmaṁ anusāsisaṁti. Ese hi seṭhe kaṁmaṁ aṁ dhaṁmanusāsanaṁ. Dhaṁma chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā. Se imasā

athasā vadhi ahini chā sādhu. Etāye athāye iyaṁ likhite imasā athasā vadhi yujaṁtu hini chā mā alochayisu. Duvāḍasavaśābhistenā Devānaṁpiyenā Piyadaśinā lājinā lekhitā.

Translation—"In times past, for many hundreds of years, have ever increased the slaughter of animals and the hunting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, and discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of *Dhaṁma* (morality), showing the people spectacles of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures. Such as had not existed before for many hundreds of years, have now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, and obedience to mother and father and to the aged. Both in this and in many other ways has the practice of *Dhaṁma* (morality) been promoted. And king Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of *Dhaṁma* (morality). And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of *Dhaṁma* (morality) until the aeon of destruction; and will instruct people in *Dhaṁma* (morality), abiding by *Dhaṁma* (morality) and by good conduct. For this is the best work, viz., instruction in Dhaṁma (morality). And the practice of Dhaṁma (morality) also is not possible for a person devoid of virtuous conduct. Therefore, promotion and not neglect of this object is

meritorious. For this purpose has this been written, viz., that they (my descendants) should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not notice the neglect of it. This rescript was caused to be written by King Devānaṁpriya Priyadarśin when he had been consecrated twelve years."

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

Devanāmpiye Piyādasi lājā ahā. Kayānc dukale. E ādikale Kayānasā se dukalaṁ kaleti. Se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭe. Tāmamā putā chā natālc chā palam chā tehi ye apatiyeme āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvaṭisaṁti se sukaṭam kachhaṁti. E chu hetā desaṁ pi hāpayisati se dukaṭam Kachhaṁti. Pāpe hi nāmā supadālaye. Se atikaṁtain aṁtalam no huta-puluva dhamma-mahāmātā nāmā. Tedasa-vasābhisitenā mamayā dhamma mahāmātā kaṭā. Te sava-pāsaṁ ḍesu viyāpaṭa dhammādhithā nāyc chā dhamma-vaḍhiyā hida-sukhāye vā dhamma-yutasā Yona-Kaṁboja-Gaindhālānam e vā pi amne apalamta. Bhata-mayesu bambhanibhesu anathesu vudhesu hida-sukhāye dhaṁma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭa te. Baṁdha na-badhasā paṭividhānāye apalibodhāye mokhāye chā eyam anubadhā pajāvativā Kaṭābhikale ti vā mahālake ti vā viyāpaṭā te. Hidā bāhilesu chā nagalesu savesu olodha-nesu bhātinaṁ chā ne bhagininā e vā piaṁne nātikye savatā viyāpaṭā. E iyam dhaṁma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute-ti vāsavatā vijitasi namā dhaṁma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhaṁma-mahamātā. Etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi lekhitā chila-thitikyā hotu tathā cha me pajā anuvatatu.

Translation—"Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods : Good is difficult to perform. He who initiates good does something difficult to perform. Hence by me much good has been done. If my sons, grandsons, and my descendants after them, until the aeon of destruction, follow similarly, they will do what is meritorious, but in this respect he who abandons even a part (here), will do ill. Verily, sin should be crushed.

Now, for a long time past previously, there were no Dharma-Mahāmātras. Dharma-Māhāmātras were created by me when I had been consecrated thirteen years. They are employed among all sects ; and (also) for the establishment of Dhaṁma promotion of Dhaṁma, and for the welfare and happiness of those devoted of Dhaṁma. They are engaged among the Yavanas, Kaṃbojas and the Gandhāras, and the hereditary Rāshṭrikas and others on the Western Coast (Aparānta) ; among the Brāhmaṇas and Gṛhapatis who have becoming hirelings, and, among the helpless and the aged, for (their) welfare and happiness ; and (also) for the unfettering of those devoted to Dhaṁma. They concern themselves with (money) grant, the unfettering or the release, of (anyone) who is bound with fetters, according as he is encumbered with progeny, is subjected to oppression, or is aged. They are everywhere employed in (my) closed female apartments, or among my brothers, sisters, and other relatives, whether in Pāṭaliputra or outlying towns. Everywhere in my dominions they are occupied with those devoted to Dhaṁma according as there is anyone who is leaning on Dhaṁma, is an abode of

Dhaṁma, or is given up to almsgiving. For this purpose this document of Dhaṁma has been engraved, namely, that it may long endure and that my progeny may follow (me)."

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā. Atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no huta-puluve savaṁ Kalaṁ atha—kaṁme vā paṭivedanā vā. Se mamayā hevaṁ kaṭe. Savaṁ kālaṁ adamānasā me olodhansi gabhāgālasi vachasi vinitasi uyānasi savatā paṭive dakā aṭhaṁ janasā......vedetu me. Savatā chā janasā aṭhaṁ kachhāmi hakaṁ. Yaṁ pi chā kichhi mukhate ānapayāmi hakaṁ dāpakaṁ vāsāvakaṁ vā ye vā punā mahāmatehi atiyāyike ālopite hoti tāyeṭhāye vivāde nijhati vā saṁtaṁ palisāye anaṁtaliyenā paṭi......viye me savatā savaṁ kalaṁ. Hevaṁ ānapayite mamayā. Nathi hi me dose uṭhānasā aṭha-samtilanāye chā. Kaṭaviyā—mute hi me sava—loka hite. Tasā chā punā ese mule uṭhane aṭha-samtilanā chā. Nathi hi kaṁmamatalā savalokahitenā. Yaṁ cha kichhi palakamāmi hakam kiti bhutānaṁ ananiyaṁ yehaṁ hida cha kāni sukhāyāmi palata chā svagam ālādhayitu. Se etāyeṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi lekhita chila-ṭhiti-kyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitāye. Dukale chu iyaṁ a anatā a genā palakamenā.

Translation—"Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods :—For a long time past previously there was no dispatch of business and no reporting at all hours. This, therefore, I have done, namely, that at all hours and in all

places,—whether I am eating or am in the closed (female) apartments, in the inner chamber, in the royal rancho, on horseback or in pleasure orchards, the Reporters may report people's business to me. People's business I do at all places. And when in respect of anything that I order by word of mouth, for being personally issued or proclaimed, or, again, (if) in respect of any emergent work that may superimpose itself on the Mahāmātras, there is any opposition or argumentation in the council, I have so commanded that it shall be forthwith communicated to me at all places and at all hours. I am never satisfied with (my) exertions or with (my) dispatch of business. For the welfare of the whole world is an esteemed duty with me. And the root of that, again, is this, namely, exertion and dispatch of business. There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world. And what little effort I make,—what is it for ?—(in order) that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world. For this purpose have I caused this document of Dhaṁma to be engraved : what for ?—in order that it may endure for a long time and that my sons, grandsons and great grandsons may similarly follow me for the welfare of the whole world. This, however, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion."

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā savatā ichhati sava-pāsaṁḍa vasevu. Save hi te sayamaṁ bhāva-sudhi chā ichhaṁati. Jane chu uchāvuchā-chhaṁde uchāvucha lāge. Te savaṁ

ekadesaṁ pikachhaṁti. Vipule pi chu dāne asā nathi sayame bhāva-sudhi kiṭanātā diḍha-bhatitā chā niche bāḍhaṁ.

Translation—"King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, wishes that all sects may dwell at all places, because they all desire self-restraint and purification of heart. People, however, are of various likings and various attachments. They will perform either the whole or a part (of their duty). But of those whose liberality is not great, restraint of passion, inner purity, gratitude and constancy of devotion should be commendable."

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

Atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ Devānaṁpiyā vihālayātam nāma nikhamisu. Hidā migaviyā aṁnāni chā heḍisānā abhilāmāni husu. Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā dasa-vasābhisite saṁtaṁ nikhamithā Saṁbodhi. Tenatā dhaṁma-yātā Heta iyaṁ hoti samana-baṁbhanānaṁ dasane chā dāne chā vudhānaṁ dasane cha hilaṁna-paṭividhāne chā jānapadasā janasā dasane dhaṁmanusathi chā dhama-pali-puchhā chā tatopayā. Ese bhuye lāti hoti Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasisā lāgine bhāge aṁne.

Translation—"For a (long) time past, kings used to go out on tours of pleasure. Here, there were chase and other similar diversions. Now king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, repaired to Saṁbodhi (Bodhi Tree), when he had been consecrated ten years. Hence this touring of Dhamma. Here this happens, namely, visits and gifts to the Brāhmaṇ and Śramaṇa ascetics, visits and largesses of gold to the aged, and visits to, instructions in Dhaṁma to, and enquiries

about Dhaṁma of, the provincials. The great delight that (springs) from it is the extraordinary luck of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods."

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā āhā. Jane uchāvuchaṁ maṁgalaṁ kaleti ābādhasi avāhasi vivāhasi pajopadāne pavāsasi etāye aṁnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magalaṁ kaleti. Heta chu abakajaniyo bahu chā bahuvidhaṁ chā khudā chā nilathiyā chā magalaṁ kalaṁti. Se kaṭavi cheva kho mamgale. Apa-phale chu kho ese. Iyaṁ chu kho mahāpale ye dhaṁma-magale. Hetā iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi samyā paṭipati gulunā apachiti pānānaṁ samyame samana-baṁbhanānaṁ dāne ese aṁne chā heḍise dhaṁma-magale nāmā. Se vataviye pitinā pi putena pi bhātinā pi suvāmikena pi mita-saṁthutenā avapativesiyenā pi iyaṁ sādhu iyam kaṭaviye magale āvatasā athasā nivutiyā imaṁ kachhāmi ti. Ehi itale magale saṁsayikye se. Siyā va taṁ aṭham nivaṭeyā siyā punā no. Hida lokike cheva se. Iyaṁ punā dhaṁma-magale akālikye. Hamche pi taṁ aṭhaṁ no niṭeti hida aṭhaṁ palata anaṁtam punā pavasati. Haṁche puna taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā tato ubhayesam ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anaṁtaṁ punā pasavati tenā dhaṁmamagalenā.

Translation—"Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods: People perform various (lucky) rites in sicknesses, at marriages, on the birth of offspring, and on journey. On these and other simliar occasions people perform various rites. In this matter, however, womankind performs much

manifold, (but) trivial, useless rite. Rites should undoubtedly be performed. But a rite of this kind bears little fruit. That rite, however, bears great fruit, which is Dhaṁma maṅgala. There seemly behaviour towards the servile and menial classes, reverence towards preceptors, self-control in regard to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas are meritorious. These and other similar (items) are indeed the Dhamma-maṅgala. Therefore, a father, a son, a brother, a master, a friend or acquaintance, nay, even a neighour ought to say : "This is meritorious, this rite ought to be performed tıll that object is attained.

For (every) other rite is of a dubious nature. Perchance it may accomplish that object, and perchance it may not remain in this world. But this Dhaṁma-maṅgala is not conditioned by time. Even though it does not achieve that object here, it begets endless merit in the next world. But if it achieves that object, both are here gained, to wit, that object of his world and the begetting of endless merit in the next through that Dhaṁma-maṅgala."

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

Devānaṁpiye Piyadashā lāiā yasho vā kiti vā no mahathāvā manati anatā yaṁ pi yaso vā kiti vā icchhatı tadatvāye ayatiye chājane dhaṃma-sasushā susushātu me ti dhaṁma-vataṁ vā anuvidhiyaṁtu ti. Dhatakāye Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha. Aṁ chā kichhi lakamati Devanampiye Piyadashi lajā ta shava pālaṁtikyaye vā kiti sakale apapalāshave shiyāti. E she

chu palisave e apune. Dukale chu kho eshe khudakena vā vagenā ushuṭena vā anata agenā palakamenā shavaṁ ushaṭena vā dukale.

Translation—"King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, does not deem glory or fame as conducive to any great thing except in that, whether at the present time or in future, his people may show desire to hearken to Dhaṁma and practise the utterances of Dhaṁma. In this matter only does king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, desire glory of fame. Whatever exertions king Priyardarśin, Beloved of the gods, puts forth are all with reference to the other world—why is it ?—in order that every one may be free from *parisrava*. But that is *parisrava* which is *apuṇya* (demerit). This, however, is difficult to accomplish whether by the lower or the higher class (of officials), except by the utmost exertion and by renouncing every other duty. But it is most difficult for the higher (class)".

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Devānaṁpiye Piyadashi lājā hevaṁ hā. Nathi heḍishe dāne adisha dhaṁma-dāne dhama-shavibhage dhaṁma—shaṁbadhe. Tata eshe dāsha-bhaṭakashi shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu shushushā mita-shaṁthuta-nātikyānaṃ samanā-baṁbhanānā dāne pānānaṃ anālaṁbhe. Eshe vataviye pitinā pi putena pi bhātinā pi shavāmikyena pi mita-śaṁthutānā avā paṭiveshiyenā iyaṁ shādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye. Śe tathā kalaṁta hidalokikye cha kaṁ āladhe hoti palata chā anate punā paśavati tenā dhaṁmadānenā.

Translation—"Thus saith King Priyadarśin, Beloved of

the gods : There is no such gift as the gift of Dhaṁma, (no such acquaintance as) acquaintance in Dhaṁma, (no such participation as) participation in Dhaṁma, and (no such kinship as) kinship in Dhaṁma. Therein this happens "Seemly behaviour towards slaves and servants, meritorious hearkening to father and mother, meritorious gifts to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇs and Śramaṇas (and) meritorious non-slaughter of animals.

This ought to be said by a father, a son, a brother, a master, a friend or acquaintance, nay even a neighbour : "This is meritorious; this ought to be done." Thus acting, he attains this world and begets endless spiritual merit through that gift of Dhamma".

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Devānaṁpiye Piyadashi lājā shāvāpāsham ḍāni pavajitāni gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividhaye cha pujāye. No chu tathā dāne vā pujā vā Devānampiye manati athā kita śālāvaḍhi śiyāti śavapāsaḍāna. Śālā-vaḍhi nā bahuvidhā. Taśa chu inaṁ mule a vachaguti kiti ti atapaśaḍa vā pujā vā pala-pāśaṁḍa-galahā va no śaya apakalanaśi lahakā va śiyā tagi taśi pakalanaśi. Pujetaviyā chu palapāśaḍā tena tena akālana. Heva kalata ata-pāśaḍā baḍhaṁ vaḍhiyati pala—pāśaḍa pi vā upakaleti. Tadā anatha kalata ata-pāśaḍa cha chhanati pala-pāśaḍa pi vā apakaleti. Ye hi kechha ata-pāśaḍa punāti pala-pāshaḍa vā galahati shave ata-pāshaṁḍa-bhatijā vā kiti ata-pāshaṁḍa dipayema she cha punā tathā kalaṁtam bāḍhatale upahaṁti ata pāshaṁḍashi. Shamavāye vu shādhu kiti aṁnamanashā dhaṁmaṁ.

Shuneyu chā shushusheyu chā ti. Hevam hi Devānaṁpiyashā ichhā kiṁti sava-pāshaṁḍa baha-shutā chā kayānāgā cha huveyu ti. E cha tata tata pashaṁnā tehiva taviye. Devānāpiye no tathā dānaṁ vā pujā vā maṁnati athā kiti shālā-vaḍhi śiyā shava-pāshamḍatiṁ babukā chā etāyāṭhāye viyāpaṭa dhaṁma-mahāmātā ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā vacha bhumikyā ane vā nikyāyā. Iyaṁ cha etishā phale yaṁata-pāshamḍa-vaḍhi chā hoti dhaṁmasha chā dipana.

Translation—"King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, honours (men of) all sects, ascetics and householders and honours (them) with gift and manifold honour. But the beloved of the gods does not think so much of gift and honour as—what ?—as that there should be a growth of the essential among (men of) all sects. The growth of the essential, however, is of various kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech, how?—namely, there should not be honour to one's own sect or condemnation of another's sect without any occasion; or it may be a little on this and that occasion. Or the contrary, others sects' should be honoured on this and that occasion. By so doing one promotes one's own sect, and benefits another's sect. By doing otherwise one's own sect and also harms another's sect. For one who honours one's own sect and condemns another's sect, all through attachments to one's own sect, —why ?—in order that one may illuminate one's own sect in reality by so doing injures, more assuredly one's own sect. Concourse is therefore commendable,—why ?—in order that they may hear and desire to hear (further) one another's

Dhaṁma. For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods,—what ?— that all sects shall be well-informed and conductive of good. And those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed : "The Beloved of the gods does not so much think of gift or or honour as-what ?—as that there may be a growth of the essential among all sects and also mutual appreciation." For this end are engaged the Dharma-Mahāmātras, superintendents of women, the Vrajabhūmikas and other bodies (of officials). And this is its fruit—the exaltation of one's own sect and the illumination of Dhaṁma."

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Aṭha vashā bhishita shā Devānaṁpiyasha Piyadashine lājine kaligyā vijitā. Diyaḍhamite pāna-shat ashahaśe yeta phā apavuḍhe śata-sha hasha-mite tata hate bahutāvata ke vāmaṭe. Tato pachhā adhunā ladhesha kaligyeshu tive dhaṁma vāye dhaṁma-kā-matā dhaṁmanushathi chā Devānaṁpiyashā she athi anushaye Devānaṁpiyashā vijinitu kaligyāni. A vijitaṁ hi vijinamane e tatā vadha vā malane vā apavahe vā janashā she bāḍha vedaniya-mute gulumute chā Devānaṁpiyashā. Iyaṁpi chu tato galumatatale Devānaṁpiyashā. Yatatā vashati bābhanā va shama vā ane vā pāsaṁḍa gihithā vā yeśu vihitā esha agabhuti-shushushā mātā-piti-shushushā galu shushāmita-shaṁthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-bhaṭakashi shamyā-paṭipati didhabhatitā tesham tata hoti upaghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṁ vā vinikhamane. Yeshaṁ vā pi shuvihitānaṁ shinehe avipahine e tānaṁ mita-śamthuta-shahāya-

nātikya viyashanaṁ pāpunāta tatā she pitā namevā upaghāte hoti. Paṭibhāge chā esha shava-manushānaṁ gulumate chā Devānaṁpiyashā. Nathi chā she janapade yata nahi ime nikāyā ānatā yoneshu baṁhmane chā shamane chā nathi chā kuvapi janapadashi yatā nathi manushāna ekatalashipi pāshaḍashi no nāma pashade. She avatake jane tadā kaliṁgeshu ladheshu hate chā maṭe chā apavuḍhe chā tato shate bhāge vā shahasha-bhāge vā aja gulumate vā Devānaṁpiyashā.

B. SOUTH FACE OF KALSI ROCK

......Neyu Ichha......shavabhu......shayama shamacha liyaṁ madava ti. Iyaṁ vu mu Devānaṁpiyeshā yedhaṁma vijaye. She cha punā ladhe Devānampi......cha shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu piyojana-shateshu ata Atiyoge nāma yonalā palaṁ chā tenā Aṁtiyogenā chatāli lajāne Tulamaye nāma Aṁtekine nāma Makā nāma Alikyashudale nāma nichaṁ choḍa-Paṁḍiyā avaṁ Taṁbapaṁniyā hevamevā. Hevamevā hidā lāja viśavashi yona-kaṁbojeshu Nābhaka-Nābhapaṁtishu Bhoja Pitinikyeshu Adha-Pāladeshu shavatā Devānaṁpiyashā dhaṁmāṇushathi anuvataṁti. Yata pi dutā Devānaṁpiyasā no yaṁti te pi sutu Devānaṁpinaṁya dhaṁma-vutaṁ vidhanaṁ dhaṁma nushathi dhaṁmaṁ anuvidhiyaṁa anuvidhiyasaṁa chā. Ye se ladhe etakenā hoti savatā vijaye piti lase se. Gadhā sā hoti piti kiti dhaṁma vijaya shi. Lahukā vu kho sā piti. Pālaṁtikyameve maha-phalā maṁnaṁti Devanaṁpine. E tāye chā aṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me asunavaṁ vijaya ma vijayataviya

manishu shayakashi no vijayashi Khaṁti chā la hu daṁḍatā chā lochetu tameva chā vijayaṁ manatu ye dhaṁma-vijaye. She hidalokikya palalo kiye. Shavā cha ka nilati hotu uyāma-lati. Shā hi hidalokika palalokikyā.

Translation—"The country of Kaliṅga was conquered when king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, had been anointed eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand were therefrom captured, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times as many died. Thereafter, now, when the country of Kaliṅga has been acquired, the Beloved of the gods has zealous compliance with Dhaṁma, love for Dhaṁma, and teaching of Dhaṁma. That is the remorse of the Beloved of the gods on having conquered Kaliṅga. Verily the slaughter, death and captivity of the people, that occurs when an unconquered (country) is being conquered, is looked upon as extremely painful and regrettable by the Beloved of the gods. But this is to be looked upon as more regrettable than that, because there dwell Brāhmaṇic, Śramaṇic and other sects and householders, among whom is established this, viz., hearkening to the elders, hearkening to the parents, hearkening to the preceptors, seemly behaviour and steadfast devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives and to slaves and servants. There (in the war) to such (pious) people befall personal violence, death or banishment from the loved ones. Or there are those who are well-circumstanced and possess undiminished affection, but their friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives meet with a misfortune; there that (misfortune) becomes a personal violence to those

(former). All this is the lot of (these) men, and is considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods. And there is no country except that of the Yavanas where there are not these orders, namely, the Brāhmaṇa, and the Śramaṇa ascetics, and there is no place in any (such) country where men have no faith in one sect or another. Even one hundredth or one-thousandth part of those who were slain, died, or were captured in Kaliṅga, is today considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods. Nay, if any one does (him) wrong, the Beloved of the gods must bear all that can be borne. And (the people of) the forests which are in the dominions of the Beloved of the gods he conciliates and exhorts. The might of the Beloved of the gods, though he is repentant, is told them—why ?—in order that they may express sense of shame, and not to be killed. The Beloved of the gods desires for all beings non-injury, self-control, equable conduct and gentleness.

And this conquest is considered to be the chiefest by the Beloved of the gods, which is conquest through Dhaṁma. And that again has been achieved by the Beloved of the gods here and in the bordering dominions, even as far as six hundred yojanas, where (dwell) the Yavana king called Aṁtiyoka, and, beyond this Aṁtiyoka, the four kings called Turamāya, Aṁtekina, Maga and Alikasu(ṁ)dara,—(likewise) down below, where are the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, as far as the Tāmraparṇiyas,—likewise here in the king's dominions among the Yavanas and Kambojas,the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṁtis, the hereditary Bhoja rulers, Āndhras and Pulindas everywhere they follow the teaching of the

Beloved of the gods in respect of Dhaṁma. Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the gods do not go, they, hearing the utterances of Dhaṁma, the ordinances, and the instructions in Dhaṁma by the Beloved of the gods, practise Dhaṁma, and will so practice. And the conquest, which is thereby achieved, everywhere becomes aconquest flavoured with love. That love has been attained (by me) in the conquest through Dhaṁma. A petty thing, however, is that love. That which concerns the next world, the Beloved of the gods esteems, as alone bearing great fruit. And this edict of Dhaṁma has been engraved for this purpose,—why ?—in order that whosoever may be, my sons and great grandsons, may not think of a new conquest as worth achieving, that in regard to a conquest, they may prefer forbearance and the lightness of the punishment, and that they may regard that to be the (real) conquest which is a conquest through Dhaṁma. That is (good) for here and hereafter. May attachment to Dhaṁma develop into attachment to all kingdoms. That is (good) for here and hereafter."

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Iyaṁ dhama-lipi Devānaṁpiyenā Piyadasinā lajinā likhāpitā athi yevā sukhitena athi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā. No hi savatā save ghaṭite. Mahālake hi vijite bahu chā likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyaṁ. Athi chā hetā puna punā lapite tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā. She shāyā ata kichhi asamati likhite dishā vā shaṁkheye Kālanaṁ vā alochayitu lipikalapalādhena vā.

Translation—"This *Dhamma-lipi* has been caused to be inscribed by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, either in abridged, medium or expanded form. The whole was not required at every place. Vast, indeed, is (my) kingdom, and much has been written, and much will I cause to be written. And, owing to their sweetness, various things have been utterd over and over again. In order that the people may act accordingly. But it may be that something has here been inscribed incomplete, considering either the locality or (a good) reason for deletion, or through the fault of the scribe."

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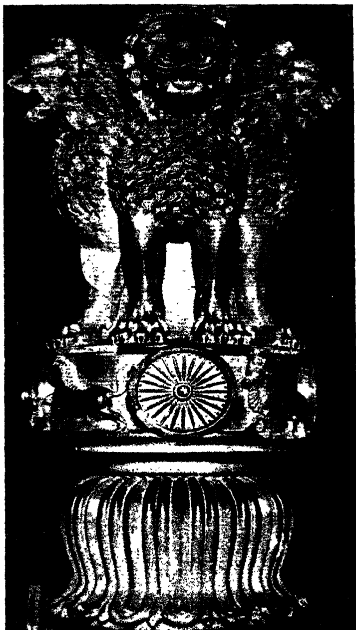


PLATE I

Aśokan Lion-Capital at Sarnath, bearing lion figures and other animals. Third Century B. C.



PLATE II

Buddha image in *abhayamudra*. The pedestal bears a Brahmi inscription of the 2nd Century A.D. Mathura School. From Ahicchatra (Distt. Bareilly)
(National Museum, New Delhi)



PLATE III

Inscribed image of Bodhisattva Maitreya holding vase of nectar. Time 3rd Century A. D. Mathura School. From Ahicchatrā (National Museum, New Delhi).

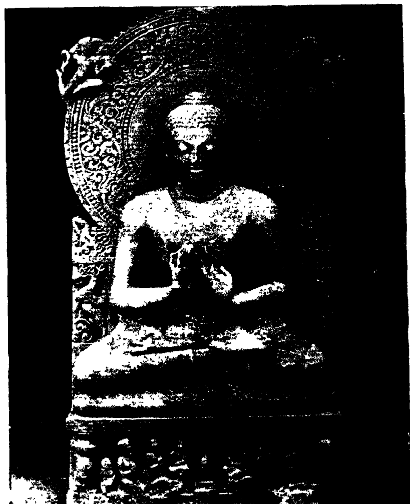


PLATE IV

Buddha revolving the 'Wheel of Law'. Fifth century A. D. (*Sarnath Museum*).



PLATE V

Standing Buddha with a decorative halo. Fifth century A. D. From Mathura.

(*National Museum, New Delhi*).



PLATE VI

Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara; 11th Century A. D.
From Mahobā.
(*State Museum, Lucknow*).

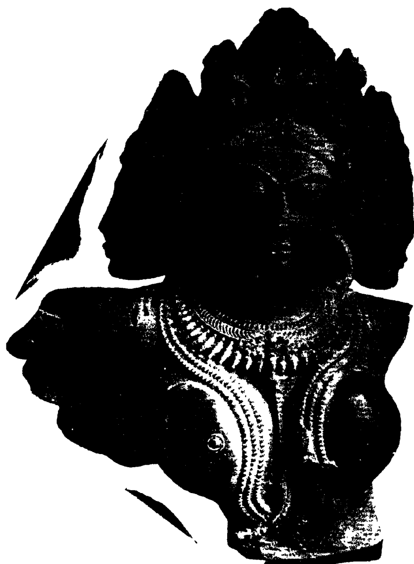


PLATE VII

Goddess Vajratārā. 10th century A. D.
(*Sarnath Museum*).



Plate VIII

Dhamekha Stūpa, Sarnath.